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American School
of Classical Studies
in Rome

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING
COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF
CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME

[PLATES I-III]

To the Council of the Archaeological Institute of America:

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor, as Chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, to submit to you a record of the establishment of the School, and of its management to the end of August, 1896, partly under my own Chairmanship, and partly under the Acting-Chairmanship of Professor Minton Warren and Professor Clement L. Smith; together with my Report as Director of the School during its first year, 1895-96, and the Report of Professor A. L. Frothingham, Jr., as Associate Director during the same year. To these reports are added, in an Appendix, lists of the officers and members of the Managing Committee, of the faculty and students of the school in 1895-96, and of contributors to current expenses; a financial statement; the regulations of the School; a copy of the circular of information for persons who intend to become members; and a statement with reference to Fellowships.

For many years prior to 1894 Latinists and archaeologists in America had felt that the interests of learning in this country demanded the establishment of a School in Rome, which should be similar in its general character and aim to

the School at Athens. They believed, however, that the movement to establish such a School might, if undertaken too soon, work serious harm to the School already in existence, the interests of which were close to the hearts of all classical and archaeological scholars in the country.

At the annual meeting of the Council of the Archaeological Institute held on May 12, 1894, letters were presented, which had been addressed independently to members of the Council by Professor Merrill, of Wesleyan University, and Professor Platner, of the Western Reserve University, urging the establishment of a School in Rome. The Council took the matter into consideration and appointed a committee, consisting of Professors Goodwin, Seymour, and Frothingham, to consider the advisability of such a step, and to report at the next meeting of the Council.

In the following December, during the session of the Congress of learned societies held at Philadelphia in honor of the late Professor Whitney, a more decisive step was taken. At a meeting of the Archaeological Institute, held on the 28th of the month, at which members of the American Philological Association were invited to be present and to participate in the proceedings, Professor Ware, of Columbia University, outlined the history and prospects of the new American School of Architecture in Rome, which had been conceived by Mr. Charles F. McKim, of New York, and organized as a three years' experiment by professional architects in various parts of the country. At the conclusion of this account, Professor Ware, on behalf of this School, offered a welcome to any School of similar aims that might be founded, and invited it to share in the use of the building which had already been engaged for the School of Architecture. Remarks were made by the Chairman (Professor Goodwin), and Professors Frothingham, White, Seymour, Warren, and Hale. The general conviction was that the hour for action had at last come. The following resolution was accordingly offered by Professor West, of Princeton University, seconded by Professor White, of Harvard University, and unanimously carried:

Resolved: That this meeting appoints Professor W. G. Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of Princeton University, a Committee (with power to add to their number) to inquire into the feasibility of establishing an American School in Rome in connection with the School of Architecture recently established, to communicate with the managers of this School of Architecture, and to report upon the matter to the Council of the Archaeological Institute of America.

The members of the Committee thus appointed accepted the duties laid upon them. Professor Hale, as first named in the motion, was made Chairman of the Committee, and Professor Frothingham Secretary. Mr. C. C. Cuyler of New York consented to act as Treasurer.

In accordance with the powers given them, and in the conviction that it was necessary to rouse interest in many parts of the country, the original Committee of three organized a Committee of seventy-five members, — consisting of both college professors, or unattached scholars, and men in business, — representing forty-four different institutions and fifty-eight different cities. In the choice of these members, it was in general intended that each University or College represented should have one member of its faculty upon the Committee, and that this member should be a professional archaeologist, if a chair of archaeology existed in the institution. In only a few cases, and for reasons of special importance, was a second member of any faculty appointed. With the consent of this Committee, obtained by correspondence, the original Committee prepared a circular, which set forth the purposes and needs of the School, and proposed that money be raised for an experiment of three years, — since, in the depressed financial condition of the country, it was obviously unwise to attempt to raise in four months a sum of money sufficient for a permanent endowment. This circular was widely distributed through the agency of the general Committee, and subscriptions were secured, most of which took the form of an annual payment for three years.

When it appeared probable that enough money would be

subscribed to warrant the establishment of the School for the initial three years, a meeting of the entire Committee was appointed for May 18, 1895, at Columbia University.

At the annual meeting of the Council of the Archaeological Institute, held in New York on May 11, 1895, the Committee already referred to, consisting of Professors Goodwin, Seymour, and Frothingham, reported, through its Chairman, Professor Goodwin, that in its opinion it was desirable that such a School as had been contemplated should be established in Rome. The Committee appointed at Philadelphia next reported, through its Chairman and Secretary, who were members of the Council, that funds sufficient to warrant an experiment of three years had been secured. The Institute was then requested to take the proposed School under its patronage and authority, upon the same general terms on which it had founded the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and to appoint the Committee of the School, as then constituted, its Managing Committee, giving it the power to enlarge, reduce, or otherwise change its membership, to elect its officers, to determine the name and scope of the School, and to establish its regulations. A motion granting these requests was then passed by the Council, subject to the provision that the relations of the School to the Institute should meet the approval of a Committee, which should consist of the President of the Institute and the Chairmen of the Managing Committees of the School at Athens and the School in Rome. It may here be stated in advance that the organization of the School as afterwards effected was satisfactory to this Committee, and that the School was accordingly taken into the desired relations with the Institute.

The Council of the Institute, further, at the request of the representatives of the School, granted the sum of six hundred dollars for a Fellowship to be held in Rome during the following year, and the sum of three hundred dollars for excavations.

On May 18, the Managing Committee of the School met at Columbia University, and proceeded to effect a permanent or-

ganization. A Constitution was proposed, discussed, amended, and adopted. It was agreed, among other provisions, that the name of the School, which had intentionally been left undetermined until the general Committee should decide upon it, should be "The American School of Classical Studies in Rome." The sense in which this name is to be taken is explained in the first Regulation of the School. To the mind of the Committee the phrase "Classical Studies," which is sometimes too narrowly interpreted in this country, does not exclude Archaeology, but necessarily includes it. All archaeological studies that deal with Rome under the Early Monarchy, the Republic, and the Empire, or with Italian civilization outside of Rome, during these periods, are classical studies. The publications of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have almost always been archaeological. In our School in Rome the teaching and the investigations of the past year have dealt exclusively with archaeological subjects; for the deciphering of ancient documents written with a pen upon parchment or papyrus,—the only subject of our year's work the nature of which could be called in question,—is as truly archaeological as the deciphering of ancient inscriptions written with a sharp instrument or a brush upon walls, or incised upon stones. The publications, further, that will result from the year's activity, will be wholly archaeological, with the exception of a single paper, which, adducing new archaeological evidence to settle a linguistic question, will present the linguistic evidence along with the other. It may indeed safely be assumed that, in any School of Classical Studies conducted in Rome, the great claims of archaeology will securely maintain themselves. Since this is sure, the advantage of the title, as it now stands, is not only that it is in harmony with that of the sister School at Athens, but also that it leaves the Director of the School in Rome free to deal with *any* phase of classical work that can be done better in Italy than in America. And if, anywhere in our country, the phrase "Classical Studies" is narrowly and injuriously interpreted, the work and publications of the School in Rome

will perform a genuine service in disseminating broader conceptions of the nature and mission of such studies.

After the adoption of the Constitution, officers and committees were appointed. Professor Hale, of the University of Chicago, was elected Chairman, and Professor Frothingham, of Princeton, Secretary, of the Managing Committee. Later in the meeting these gentlemen were elected respectively Director and Associate Director of the School in its first year, and to serve during their absence in Italy Professor Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, was elected Acting Chairman, and Professor Platner, of the Western Reserve University, Acting Secretary, of the Managing Committee. Professor Warren was also elected to be Director of the School in its second year. Mr. Cuyler was elected Treasurer.

A communication from the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens was read, informing the Committee of the School in Rome that its Chairman had been made a member, *ex officio*, of the Managing Committee of the School at Athens, and of its Executive Committee, and that the President of the Archaeological Institute of America had similarly been made a member, *ex officio*, of both Committees of the School at Athens. In harmony with this action, the Managing Committee of the School in Rome made the President of the Institute and the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the School at Athens members, *ex officio*, of the Managing and Executive Committees of the School in Rome. The two Schools are thus happily and permanently connected with each other and with the Institute by a provision which secures the constant acquaintance of each of these three bodies with the work and plans of the other two.

In addition to the Fellowship of six hundred dollars, granted by the Institute as narrated above, a second Fellowship yielding the same amount was established by the Managing Committee. To these two a third, with an income of five hundred dollars, was added, by friends of the School, through the

efforts of Professor Frothingham, to be open only to students in Christian Archaeology. The Fellowship in Christian Archaeology was subsequently awarded to the Rev. Walter Lowrie, a graduate of Princeton University and of the Princeton Theological Seminary; the Fellowship of the School to Mr. William K. Denison, Bachelor of Arts of Tufts College and Master of Arts of Harvard University; and the Fellowship of the Institute to Mr. Walter Dennison, Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts of the University of Michigan.

The fund pledged to the support of the School was reported to be about \$23,000. This amount was subsequently raised to \$25,905¹ by an additional gift of three thousand dollars made by Mr. E. D. Morgan of Newport, R.I., and paid in a single sum in order that it might be used immediately in the purchase of the beginnings of a library.

Some time before the meeting of our Managing Committee, the Managing Committee of the American School of Architecture in Rome, through Mr. C. F. McKim, its Treasurer, proposed the formation of an American Academy in Rome, to comprise the School of Architecture, the School of Classical Studies, and such other Schools of Art as might afterwards be established. The two fundamental ideas of the project, as advocated by Mr. McKim, were, first, that each School should be an integral part of the Academy, and, secondly, that subscriptions should be solicited, not for individual Schools, but for a common fund. There was much that was attractive in this plan. Although the several Schools would surrender their autonomy, yet there would be a distinct gain for each in being part of a powerful organization, which would appeal to the public for support with greater effect than could any School individually, and would lend to each member the combined impulse and the broad spirit of the whole. From the point of view of our own School, on the other hand, there was the danger of imperfect sympathy on the part of the other Schools, which, having different aims and methods, might not

¹ This amount has since suffered some shrinkage.

clearly feel the value and recognize the needs of the kind of work which a body of specialists would see to be imperative for us. The question being a grave one, it would have been improper for our School to take any step before full discussion at a meeting of the Managing Committee; and it was impossible, by the time this stage had been reached,—namely, the middle of the summer,—to secure a proper attendance for such a meeting. The Executive Committee accordingly passed a general resolution expressing interest in the scheme, and promising that it should be considered by the Managing Committee at its next meeting.

The history of the proceedings of the Managing Committee from the summer of 1895 to September 1, 1896, will be found in the Reports of Professors Warren and Smith, which follow. I have only to add, in retrospect of the entire period covered by these reports and my own, that the financial record of the School has on the whole been satisfactory. There has been a temporary difficulty in raising the special subscriptions necessary for the work at Beneventum (see the Reports of Professors Smith and Frothingham, pp. 16 and 57), and some of the original subscriptions have not been paid; but on the other hand I am glad to say that a saving of \$1666.62 has been made upon the appropriations voted by the Managing Committee for the regular expenses of the School.

WM. GARDNER HALE, *Chairman*.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

REPORT OF THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE MANAGING
COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER, 1895, TO MAY, 1896

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to submit the following report as Acting Chairman of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome from the time of Professor Hale's departure for Europe in September, 1895, to the meeting of the Managing Committee held on May 7, 1896, inclusive.

At the meeting of the Managing Committee on May 18, 1895, I was authorized to appoint a committee of conference, to consist of three members, of whom I was to be one, to confer with the representatives of the School of Architecture and of other Schools to be established in Rome, looking toward the establishment of an American Academy in Rome. I accordingly appointed Professor Seymour, of Yale, and Professor Smith, of Harvard, to act with me on that committee. Professor Seymour and I were present at a meeting held in October in New York, but Professor Smith was unfortunately prevented from attending. Subsequently I attended two other less formal meetings held in New York, and considerable correspondence passed between the members of the committee and Professor Ware, of Columbia University, in reference to the draft of a proposed constitution for the Academy. It was at one time thought advisable to call a meeting of the Managing Committee at the Christmas holidays to consider the plan for an Academy, but as the whole scheme was not matured with sufficient definiteness to be laid before the Committee, it was deemed wiser not to hold the meeting. Shortly after this, Mr. McKim went abroad for several months, and the whole matter was deferred to the May meeting.

In the expectation that a meeting of the Managing Committee would be held at Christmas, the Director and Associate Director of the School had sent from Rome carefully prepared plans for the making of moulds of the arch of Trajan at Beneventum, and for investigations to be carried on by the School on the site of ancient Norba. As no meeting was held, the approval of these plans by the Executive Committee was secured by correspondence, so that the work might proceed without delay, and some special contributions were received for these objects. The annual meeting of the Managing Committee of the School was called for May 7, 1896. On the previous day, an informal meeting of a few of the promoters of the plan for an Academy took place, to which I was invited. At my request Professor Platner, of Western Reserve University, who was in New York,

was also asked to be present. Up to this time it had seemed quite possible for our School to coöperate in the establishment of the proposed Academy and still to preserve its own independence. At this meeting, however, it became apparent that our School as such could not become an integral part of the Academy, inasmuch as the representatives of the other Schools desired to have only a limited number of Fellows within the Academy building, thus excluding from its privileges most of the members of our School. It was, moreover, intimated that for the present the School would be expected to provide a fund for the Classical Fellowships out of its own resources, the endowment of the Academy not being adequate to provide such Fellowships. These facts were stated to the Managing Committee at its meeting on May 7, by both Professor Platner and myself, and, while the spirit of that meeting was entirely friendly to the establishment of an American Academy in Rome, the difficulties of making the American School of Classical Studies, which had already been taken under the protection of the Institute, an integral part of the Academy, were fully realized, and no action looking to the participation of the School in the plan for an Academy was taken, except that the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee for such further conference with the promoters of the plan as might be desired. The Committee appointed consisted of Professors Peck and Seymour, of Yale, and Professor Merrill, of Wesleyan; and here the matter rested.

At the second annual meeting of the Managing Committee, Professor Allan Marquand, of Princeton, was elected Professor of Archaeology in the School for the year 1896-97, and Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard, Director of the School for the year 1897-98; and both of these gentlemen signified their acceptance of the appointments. The budget for the year 1896-97 was approved, and the Executive Committee was authorized to make further appropriations by unanimous vote. A Committee on Fellowships was appointed, consisting of Professors Hale, Smith, and Platner. The eighth Regulation was

amended to its present form. The Executive Committee also voted that the Director should be authorized to have a book-plate made commemorating Mr. E. D. Morgan's gift of three thousand dollars for the library of the School, and to place it in books equal in value to that amount. The preliminary reports of Professor Hale, the Director, and of Professor Frothingham, the Associate Director, which were read at the meeting, were listened to with great interest, as indicating that most gratifying progress had been made in the face of great difficulties toward the establishment of a permanent School which was destined to be a credit alike to the Institute and to the country.

MINTON WARREN, *Acting Chairman*.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

REPORT OF THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE MANAGING
COMMITTEE, MAY TO OCTOBER, 1896

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to submit the following report as Acting Chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome from the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Committee in May, 1896, to the return of Professor Hale and his resumption of duties as Chairman of the Committee in the autumn.

During this period no meeting of the Managing Committee was held, but the Executive Committee was called to act in its behalf in two important emergencies.

The first of these emergencies grew out of our relations with the School of Architecture, from which we had leased rooms in the Villa dell' Aurora for the year 1895-96. It had become clear, for the reasons set forth in Professor Warren's report, that a union of our School with the projected American Academy, of which the School of Architecture was to be a constituent part, was impracticable; and as the Villa dell' Aurora would eventually be needed for the use of the Academy, the

question of our continuing to occupy rooms in the building demanded immediate consideration. The School of Architecture, while desiring to retain us as tenants, could give us no assurance of possession for another year. The Executive Committee thereupon authorized Professors Hale, Warren, and Frothingham, acting as a Committee, to secure other suitable quarters for the School during the year 1896-97, or, if they deemed it more advantageous, for the two years 1896-98. This commission was carefully executed by the gentlemen named, who obtained for us a lease, until December 31, 1898, of the furnished villa at No. 2 Via Gaeta.

On the completion of the casts of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, since the collection of subscriptions had been slow, and since the cost had considerably exceeded what was regarded as a liberal estimate, the Executive Committee, at the request of the Director and the Associate Director, authorized the Treasurer to advance a sum sufficient to meet the requirements of the contract. The Committee made the appropriation with some reluctance, but under the circumstances it seemed unavoidable. This temporary diminution of the funds of the School has now been nearly made good, and in the end they will probably suffer no loss from this source.

The Committee, consisting of Professors Smith, Seymour, and Platner, appointed at the annual meeting to award the three Fellowships for 1896-97, considered the applications of the candidates. The Fellowship in Christian Archaeology was awarded to Mr. Albert F. Earnshaw, a graduate of Princeton in 1892, and of the Union Theological Seminary in 1896, — the only applicant. Mr. Walter Dennison was reappointed to the Fellowship by him held in 1895-96. The third Fellowship was awarded to Mr. Gordon J. Laing, a graduate of the University of Toronto in 1891, and a graduate student of the Johns Hopkins University since 1893.

CLEMENT L. SMITH, *Acting Chairman.*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR
1895-96

To the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome :

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to submit my report as Director of the School in Rome during the year 1895-96.

It should be borne in mind that, in this opening year, the Direction of the School had to feel its way, learning gradually the resources that could be drawn upon, and the best order in which to employ them.

The School started without traditions, except such as could be derived, on the score of relationship, from the elder School at Athens. The most important experience which that School had to impart was that, in a place where almost everything is new to the students, and where everything has a large literature accumulated around it, the system of a dozen or so of hours of recitations or lectures a week must be abandoned. The study of a few fields, with time for thorough individual and independent research in each,—such was the programme of the School at Athens.

The instructors and members of the School met on the appointed day, October 15, 1895, for preliminary organization. It was at once arranged that Mr. Walter Dennison, Fellow of the School, who had already spent some time in Rome, and had heard Professor Hülsen's lectures on Topography the previous year, should take the students upon topographical expeditions as a preparation for further work.

Professor Frothingham and I began our instruction the next week. He gave one lecture weekly upon Classical

Archaeology, and one upon Christian Archaeology. I gave two each week upon Epigraphy.

While I was endeavoring to arrange for a course in Topography, I learned from Professor Hülsen, Second Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, that students of other Schools in the city were permitted to join the students of the German Institute, and that, in point of fact, his classes always contained such persons. He assured me that the students of the American School would be welcomed to his course on Topography. This invitation was gladly accepted. A similar arrangement exists in Athens, where the students of the American School are admitted to Dr. Dörpfeld's topographical lectures. Our students had been advised to go to Germany, if possible, in the summer preceding the opening of the School, in order to increase their facility in written and spoken German. Several of them had done this; others were already able at least to read the language without great difficulty. Meanwhile, Mr. Dennison's methodical and careful topographical expeditions had continued, and the students had been making themselves familiar with the books of Middleton, Lanciani, and others. Thus Professor Hülsen's lectures were from the beginning fairly understood, and in a short time the students were able to follow them with ease. The interest of the students was very great, and their personal devotion to Professor Hülsen was marked. A pleasant indication of their feeling was given at Christmas time, in the presentation to him of a fine copy of a Pompeian bronze, the work of Sig. Angelo del Nero.

In gaining admission to these lectures, which began in November, we had come in contact with a definitely established system of work, the result of an experience of over fifty years in Rome. It will be worth while to state what that system is. Beginning ordinarily in the middle of November, Professor Hülsen gives a course of eighteen or twenty lectures on Topography; while these continue, no other work is given in the Institute. They occupy the time until Christmas.

About January 15, Professor Hülsen begins a similar course in Epigraphy, lecturing in part at the Institute, but oftener in the museums. At the same time, the head of the Institute, Professor Petersen, begins a course of weekly lectures in the museums, not limited to any particular field, but dealing with the history and chronology of art. About ten of these lectures were given in the year 1895-96. Toward the end of March the students go to Greece. On their return, early in July, they are met by Dr. Mau at Pompeii, who directs their ten days' study of this city. This is all the stated work of the Institute. The theory upon which it is conducted is that, when advanced students take up a subject like Topography or Epigraphy, they need for it the whole or nearly the whole of their time. The German Institute holds open meetings every other week from December to April. The papers read are rarely presented by students; most of them are by professors of the Institute, or by outsiders. It will be understood that the comparatively small amount of teaching, and the constant repetition of the subjects in which the professors of the Institute are incessantly working, give these scholars abundant leisure for research.

When Professor Hülsen's lectures began, it seemed necessary, for reasons made clear above, to postpone the courses which Professor Frothingham and I had been giving for a month. In other words, the situation forced us to adopt, at least temporarily, the system of the German Institute. I imagine that in the future the plans adopted by other directors will be substantially the same; though modifications may be introduced, due to the different stage of preparation at which our American students, for the present at least, begin their work.

A modification was, indeed, introduced in the present year, as will appear. In due season I made my official calls upon the heads of other schools in Rome, and from all I received the greatest courtesy. From one in particular, Professor von Sickel, Director of the Austrian Historical Institute, and a noted

palaeographer, I received information which proved to be of great value; namely, that a course of lectures on Palaeography was soon to be opened at the Vatican by Professor Melampo, recently appointed to the chair made vacant by the death of Professor Carini; and that I could probably gain admission for our students. I accordingly went to the opening lecture, taking with me two men, by way of experiment, to see how they would profit from a lecture in Italian. The introduction was well arranged, and the students found the lecturer's Italian singularly clear and easy to follow. All the regular members of the School attended the next meeting, and it was decided to ask Professor Melampo and Cardinal Galimberti, whose consent was necessary, to permit our students to attend regularly. At this second meeting we found the long tables in front of the benches covered with copies of reproductions of a page of manuscript, sufficient in number to give a copy to each student, or to each pair of students; and a large part of the work of the hour consisted in the transliteration of the reproduction. The same general system was followed throughout the course. Every day there was a practical exercise, preceded, sometimes, by a brief lecture. This exercise took, at times, the form of simple transliteration, at others the form of written answers to questions suggested by the facsimiles set before the class. The work occupied three hours a week, and, from December 3, when it opened, until the close of the course in Topography at Christmas time, our students were kept very busy, both by the novelty of the subjects studied and, — a serious factor in Rome, where Horace's irony calls the distances *humane commoda*, — by the wide separation of the places of work from one another and from the School building.

Here, then, is the modification of the system of the German Institute spoken of above. While we have adopted the principle of concentration, and the idea that most courses should cover about twenty conferences, we have not been able to have merely a single course going on at a time. There are certain subjects upon which it is important that every student who

comes for a single year only—and the majority of our students will for some time be such—should make at least a beginning. It is to be expected, however, that within a few years our students will bring with them at least an elementary knowledge of Epigraphy, Palaeography, and Archaeology in the narrower sense; and, to this extent, they will be able to devote themselves with greater concentration to a few fields.

In addition to the courses already mentioned, it seemed desirable to provide for our students, if possible, a course in Numismatics, not only because of the general interest of the subject itself, and its importance to Roman History, Roman Portraiture, and Roman Epigraphy, but also because of the zeal with which several of them had privately begun to study coins. This course should be given by a trained specialist, with a large collection of coins at his service. A most suitable person, if arrangements could be made with him, was unquestionably Professor Stevenson, Curator of Coins at the Vatican. Such a course had never been given, however, nor was the public admitted to the coin-room, and Professor Stevenson was in doubt whether the plan was possible. It could not be carried out without the consent of the highest authority. His Holiness the Pope, however, with that liberality with which he has always treated questions affecting the advancement of scholarship, gave his approval, and the arrangement was made. Only students of the American School were admitted to the course, and, since the treasury of the School bore all charges, it may be viewed as our own course,—though made possible for us only by the generosity of the Papal government and the enthusiasm of Professor Stevenson himself. In order to save time, the hour in Numismatics was set directly after the hour in Palaeography. The course was intended to continue ten weeks, with two exercises a week. In consequence, however, of the illness of the lecturer during part of the time, only twelve lectures were actually given.

The course in Numismatics began in the second week of January, upon the opening of the active work of the Vatican

after the holidays. At about the same time, Professor Frothingham resumed his weekly lectures in Pagan and Christian Archaeology, and continued them until the students went to Greece, except when obliged to be absent on account of the work at Norba.

During the last weeks of January, accordingly, most of our students had six stated exercises of an hour each, weekly, three in Palaeography, one in Archaeology, and two in Numismatics. Early in February I resumed my own course on Epigraphy, and from this time until March 26, when our students began their tour in Greece, I conducted two weekly exercises, usually of an hour and a half each, sometimes of two hours and a half, when the omission of other work made this possible. The introductory lectures of the first month of the year had been given in the School building. When these, for reasons given above, were postponed, I arranged that, in preparation for work at a later time before the inscriptions themselves, the students should first make themselves familiar with Cagnat's *Épigraphie Latine*, then read Wilmanns's *Selections* and parts of the *Corpus*, and add to this whatever experimentation they could find time for, as they went about in the museums. When we met again, I found, of course, different stages of preparation; but all were then at a stage at which profitable work could be carried on, by the members of the class, in face of the inscriptions themselves. In the conduct of the course, I took up the inscriptions by subjects. In some cases I gave a brief introductory lecture; in others, I spent a large part of the time in interpreting. In the main, however, the reading and interpretation were done by the students. Sometimes a number of easy inscriptions would be interpreted, after previous study, by a single person; sometimes to two or even three persons would be assigned a difficult inscription or a difficult group. My endeavor was always to select inscriptions which should throw light upon one another, and, if possible, fix in the memory, without sensible effort, facts difficult to retain when simply read about, together with a mass

of other particulars, in a book. Some time having been given to the study of the inscriptions assigned, the remainder of the period was then devoted to the work of interpreting, the whole class giving its attention to the interpreter, and, as far as possible, making corrections or suggestions where he was at fault. I cannot, of course, speak of the interest of the students themselves, which doubtless varied, but my own interest and pleasure in the work were very keen. I could not have foreseen how great the difference would be between reading the inscriptions in the *Corpus* or in printed selections, and reading the actual inscriptions themselves, as the stone-cutter and time had left them, with all their variations of style and legibility; to say nothing of the human interest often lent to them by the form of the monument upon which they were cut, and their sculptured accessories. Nor could I have anticipated how great would be the pleasure in the exercise of restoring imperfect stones, when seen precisely as they are, and without the solutions generally provided in the *Corpus*. To these advantages should be added the heightened sense of reality and importance that are given, by the surroundings of the student in Rome, to matters of ancient administration and history, which play so large a part in the interpretation of Latin inscriptions.

In addition to this course in Epigraphy, I had hoped to give a course in Roman Private Life, especially as represented on the monuments. Such a course could be made of great value to students, and would doubtless also stimulate some of them to give courses upon the same subject in the university and college positions which it is hoped that most of them will eventually hold. While many photographs can already be had to illustrate the subject, the number of useful things remaining unphotographed is great, and some future director or professor can render a service to the School, and to American teachers, by having photographs made, and then preparing a classified list of available material which might be had by any scholar or University. I had myself hoped to begin this undertaking; but I had altogether underrated the amount of time which

would have to be devoted, in this opening year, to work that leaves no visible evidence behind it.

The sketch which I have just given of the arrangements thus far made for the School omits to mention the fact that a few of our students attended Professor Petersen's lectures in the winter. Mr. Walter Dennison, who, in Archaeology, was in advance of the rest of the School, was able to command a good deal of time for the further study of Epigraphy, including the Epigraphy of the Italic Dialects, and for a substantial piece of work upon an epigraphical subject, which was undertaken at my suggestion.

Through the kind offices of Father Farrelly, Acting Head of the American College in Rome, admission had been procured for the Rev. Walter Lowrie, our Fellow in Christian Archaeology, and Mr. Branson, special student in the History of Art, to the lectures of Professor Armellini, of the College of the Propaganda, on Christian Archaeology. These lectures were not given, however, in consequence of the unhappy death of the lecturer.

The resources of Rome in advanced work of a kind suitable for our students are extremely rich. Beside all that I have mentioned, there remain courses, in the University of Rome, in Topography, Greek Epigraphy, Greek Archaeology, and similar subjects, given by Lanciani, Halbherr, and Loewy, to which members of our School would be welcomed. As to the languages employed in these and other courses, it is one of the good fruits of the year that spoken German and Italian have lost their terrors for most of our students.

While the officers and students of the School were thus engaged, the School undertook three other pieces of work, in two of which it was measurably successful. In the third, though unsuccessful, it reached indirectly results of great importance.

It is the policy of the Italian Government not to grant rights of independent excavation to foreign Schools. Professor Frothingham, however, believing that this policy might be

changed, proposed a plan of excavations on the site of the city and necropolis of the ancient Norba, which was destroyed in the civil wars in the time of Sulla. As a preliminary, it seemed to him best to make such a study of the site of the town as was possible without excavation, and he accordingly, at the cost of much time and labor, prepared an excellent and interesting topographical plan of the ancient city. He also succeeded in tracing a system of ancient roads, not hitherto known, which connected Norba with the adjacent towns. He spoke on these two subjects at the meeting of the German Institute on April 10. In the course of his work, it became clear that the traditional policy of the Italian Government, which does not grant the rights to make excavations (*scavi*) to foreign Schools, would be maintained, and that, in this important field at Norba, we should not be allowed even to make probings (*tasti*). We were obliged, therefore, to remain content with the results which could be obtained by surface work. Fortunately these are valuable, and do Professor Frothingham and the School much credit.

The School engaged also in a second project which was proposed by Professor Frothingham, and, upon our joint recommendation, was approved by the Executive Committee at home, — the making of moulds from the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. For this we succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Italian Government. Money for the purpose was raised, partly in America, — mainly through the efforts of the Acting Chairman, Professor Warren, and of Professor Kelsey, of Michigan University, — and partly, by the Associate Director and the Director, among American residents or visitors in Italy. The sculptures of the arch are in remarkably good preservation, and belong to the best period of Roman art. One of them, indeed, — the group of four gods watching the scene below, — is perhaps the noblest piece of Roman sculpture that has come down to us. The task was well worth accomplishing, and forms a happy continuation of the work recently undertaken by the German Institute in making casts of the Column of Marcus

Aurelius in Rome. Both these projects will be dealt with more fully in Professor Frothingham's Report.

A third project was less successful. The indirect consequences were, however, of immediate value, and led ultimately to results greater than I should have dared to hope for in the beginning. I had desired that the School should publish a complete facsimile of some important manuscript. Nothing appeared better suited to this purpose than the Codex Vetus (B) of Plautus, in the possession of the Vatican Library. Through Father Ehrle, the Prefect of the Library, I made formal application, on behalf of the School, for the right to publish this manuscript in facsimile. It then appeared that the authorities of the Vatican Library had recently decided, from time to time and as success seemed to warrant, to publish reproductions of manuscripts; and the importance of this manuscript of Plautus was clearly recognized. I therefore abandoned all idea of publishing any manuscript in the Vatican Library, and visited the Laurentian Library in Florence, desiring to see the condition of the two manuscripts (Laur. 68, 1 and 2) containing different parts of the *Annals* of Tacitus (the sole authority for the *Annals*), and the manuscript (Laur. 51, 10) of Varro *De Lingua Latina*. One of these I hoped we might be allowed to publish. I was kindly received by the Prefect, Signor Biagi, but was informed that the Library had recently adopted a plan of issuing publications of this sort, and that we could not be allowed to publish any manuscript independently. It appeared, too, that even participation with the Library in the publication of a facsimile would be impossible without the consent of the general Government, and that it was morally sure that such consent would not be granted. We had thus encountered the same difficulty from the side of the Government which we had experienced before from the side of the Vatican, — the natural, but for us unfortunate, desire of the Government and the Vatican to have matters of scientific research and publication, in the case of all fresh materials, conducted in their own names. It is still probable that we may be

allowed to publish manuscripts from libraries of less importance in Italy which are under the control of the local government, or from libraries outside of Italy, as in Switzerland, Spain, France, or England. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of such work in stimulating the interest of American students in a field of great consequence to American editors of the classics.

My plans, then, did not succeed in the form in which I had projected them; but the indirect results of the attempts were at once fortunate. The Prefect of the Vatican Library, seeing the interest taken by the School in the study of Palaeography, opened the Vatican Library, for actual work, first to some of our men, and then to all. No manuscript upon which any of them desired to work, no matter how precious, was withheld.

The importance of the privileges thus opened to the School can hardly be exaggerated, especially if we should be limited in the field of archaeological exploration at first hand. The resources of the Vatican seem to be inexhaustible, and not only will there always be opportunities for highly specialized work, here and elsewhere in Italy, but there actually are at present a great many inedited manuscripts of value even in Rome; while the possibility of some fresh discovery is always present.

Some of our men acquired a taste which will bring them back to European libraries in the future; and several of them engaged in work which is going to bear immediate fruit. Mr. Shipley undertook a study of the ninth century manuscript (*Reginensis* 762) of the third decade of *Livy* (universally recognized as a copy of the Paris manuscript P, of the fifth or sixth century), with a view to illustrating by examples what has heretofore been largely a matter of inference; namely, what actually happens in the way of misunderstanding and corruption, or, on the other hand, of intentional correction and reconstruction, in the transmission of texts through the repeated process of copying. Dr. Burton and Mr. W. K. Denison, who had both made a special study

of Catullus at Harvard, began work tentatively upon two inedited manuscripts of this author. Mr. Tamblyn made an examination of the alphabets of certain early manuscripts; but a task of more immediate importance was later found for him.

So much for the regular work of the School up to the time of the departure of the students for Greece. In addition there is a number of lectures and excursions to chronicle. In January, Professor Waldstein lectured in the Conservatori Museum, with his accustomed skill and contagious enthusiasm, upon the subject of Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, and quickened the desire of our students to visit Greece. A few of our men were also able to attend Professor Petersen's valuable lectures in the museums in the winter, and several of them went with him upon his excursion to Hadrian's Villa. Later in the year, Professor Lanciani, the charm of whose lecturing is well-known to American audiences, accompanied the entire School upon a memorable expedition to Ostia. In April, Professor Marucchi, Curator of the Egyptian Museum in the Vatican, a well-known authority upon Christian Archaeology, took the School upon three visits to the three most important catacombs, devoting the whole afternoon in each case to the expedition. In April also, Father Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, conducted the School through the Library, devoting more than two hours to the showing of its most famous manuscripts.

In the autumn took place Professor Frothingham's visits with the School to the sites of ancient hill-towns in Latium, and his visit to some of the necropoleis of Etruria; of these he will speak in his report. In the spring I visited with the School the valley and probable site of Horace's Sabine farm, and, on the last day of our work before the departure of our students for Greece, Livia's Villa at Porta Prima.

By means of the bicycle,—a most efficient auxiliary in a country of such excellent roads as Italy possesses,—our students were able to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Campagna, and to visit easily many points of note in it

and beyond it, such as Veii, Livia's Villa at Porta Prima, Soracte, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli and the valley of the Anio beyond, Frascati, Albano, the Alban Lake, the lake of Nemi, Ostia, and the Sacred Grove of the Arval Brothers. From such excursions one carries away not only a serviceable acquaintance with places of archaeological consequence, but, — what is hardly secondary in importance, — lasting memories of color and atmosphere and form of a noble and varied landscape, filled with historical and literary associations of the highest interest.

By the eighth Regulation provision is made whereby our students may go to Greece for two months of work. This provision, which represents the unanimous opinion of the Committee that drew it up, is wise. There is a certain loss, to be sure, especially for those who can remain but a single year abroad, in an absence of two months from Rome, just at the time when, if they are to succeed in doing a special piece of work, they are ripening for it. But, on the other hand, the fortunes of Greek and Latin studies are ultimately indissolubly linked, and the completest sympathy is desirable between specialist workers in the two parts of what is really but a single field. Just as it is impossible fully to understand Latin literature without a knowledge of Greek literature, is it impossible fully to understand the visible remains of Roman civilization without a direct and sympathetic, even if not detailed, knowledge of the visible remains of Greek civilization. It should become the tradition of our School, as it has for many years been the tradition of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, that students who have not yet been in Greece should make a visit there for serious work in the spring.

Neither Professor Frothingham nor I accompanied the students to Greece. He, as is already apparent, was busily occupied with the prosecution of the work at Norba and Beneventum, and I had work to do which will presently be described. By a Regulation of the Roman School — repeated conversely

in the case of the Regulations of the School at Athens—the students are under the general direction, while in Greece, of the head of the Greek School. Our students, then, at the end of March found their way, by various routes and in various parties, to Athens, several accompanying Mr. Lord, the Director of the School of Architecture, who took the members of that School to Greece by way of Sicily.

One definite arrangement had been made for our students in advance by correspondence. Professor Dörpfeld, one of the Secretaries of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, makes, annually, an excursion through Peloponnesus, and another among the Greek Islands, with students of the German School and others who may arrive from Germany ; and members of our School at Athens have each year been permitted to take part. In the first year of the Roman School, on account of the large number of people who went to Athens to see the Olympic Games, the applications for the excursion were unusually numerous. Still it was arranged that two students of the School should take part in the first excursion and five in the second. Seven of our students accordingly had the benefit of Dr. Dörpfeld's personal guidance over Greek ground. Apart from instruction received, acquaintance thus formed with a scholar who is a recognized leader in his specialty is of great effect in quickening the spirit and ambition of the young student ; and the same quickening influence was, of course, exerted upon the members of our School by their association in Rome with men of the first rank in their profession.

Our students bore well the strain put upon their loyalty to Italy by their stay in what is, in many ways, the most exquisite country in the world. One of them wrote that, while they had greatly enjoyed Greece and Athens, they were at heart a little homesick for Rome, and would be quite ready to return. This is fortunate ; for, while Greek literature appeals to young minds and old minds alike, a real appreciation of Roman literature demands a certain maturity ; and it is well if this difference, which tends to carry a majority of our young graduate stu-

dents into Greek rather than into Latin, can to some extent be offset by the power which Rome itself exerts upon those who go there to study. The hurried traveller often misses it; but those who live for any length of time in the great city which was the centre of the civilizing and organizing power of the ancient world, come, if they have any historical sense, to feel profoundly that sentiment which led the ancient Romans so often to call the city, in their inscriptions, the *urbs sacra*. This sense of the great place of Rome in the world will never pass away. Mommsen, the last speaker at the closing session of the year at the German Institute, said, in the language which is *de rigueur* at these meetings, “noi passiamo: Roma resta eterna.” To bring our future professors of Latin in colleges, and teachers of Latin in schools, under the power of this spell, and so to make them better professors and teachers, and the study of Latin a more human and civilizing study, is one of the main aims of the School in Rome.

It remained for our students, on their return from Greece, to see Pompeii and the Museum of Naples, methodically and intelligently. This calls for the best expert guidance. The School was so fortunate as to make an arrangement with Dr. August Mau, the well-known editor of Overbeck's *Pompeii*, and undoubtedly the first expert in the field. Toward the end of May, he met our students, together with several students from the Greek School, and spent seven afternoons with them in Pompeii, and three days in the Museum of Naples. The specific plan of work was that each student, with Dr. Mau's Guide to Pompeii in hand, should each morning prepare himself by going over an assigned route; after which Dr. Mau was to accompany the party in the afternoon, and, assuming an acquaintance with all that is said in the Guide, devote himself to more advanced and detailed discussion. The advantage to our students of doing this work under the best possible guidance will be appreciated by the Managing Committee in America, as it was by the students themselves. It is to be hoped, too, that the arrangements which have been made

this year with Dr. Mau, Professor Stevenson, and Professor Marucchi, may be continued from year to year, and become a regular part of our work. The course given by Professor Marucchi, indeed, might profitably be doubled in length, for the sake of students who may be specializing in Christian Archaeology.

The Regulations of the School provide for stated work only up to the first of June, but both Professor Frothingham and I recognized long beforehand that we could not leave Rome so early. His task at Norba would evidently not be completed so soon; and it was also clear that I should need to remain to guide the students, upon their return, in the final stages of work in Rome, undertaken with a view to publication.

During the absence of the students in Greece I had two tasks in hand: first, the testing of work done by the four who had been studying manuscripts in the Vatican Library; and, secondly, the collection of evidence, which I expected to find in certain early manuscripts, upon an interesting and pedagogically important question of Latin pronunciation, — the division of consonants between syllables. I had long been convinced, with a very few other Latinists, of the unsoundness of the orthodox doctrine that, of a group of consonants between two vowels or diphthongs, as many consonants were pronounced with the following vowel or diphthong as can begin a Latin word (or a Latin word borrowed from the Greek); and it had long been clear that no intelligible system of quantitative pronunciation could be laid down for teachers and students until this traditional doctrine should be driven out of our text-books. But I had not had time to put my views into print, or even to complete the evidence which I had begun to collect, from the occasional division of syllables by points in Roman inscriptions; while one class of evidence, namely, the actual division in early manuscripts, was inaccessible to me upon any serious scale. In the course of my teaching in Rome, the practical work in Epigraphy had led to renewed interest in collecting the evidence of inscriptions; and, on

the other hand, what fugitive time I had already been able to get for manuscript study in Rome had made it clear that, as I had long surmised from the study of the published specimen facsimiles of single sheets of various manuscripts, this important evidence would also be against the prevailing doctrine. I therefore spent a considerable part of my time, during the absence of the students in Greece, in work upon early prose manuscripts. Since these were palimpsests and were generally in a bad condition, the work was slow and arduous, but it yielded the results which I had expected, and proved to be so important that I have arranged to have similar data obtained for me from a number of early manuscripts in various other libraries in Italy, France, Germany, and Austria. My paper on this subject, if acceptable, will be published in the *Journal*, and will be supplemented by a paper undertaken by Mr. Walter Dennison, on the division of syllables in inscriptions where words are divided at the end of the lines. If I am not mistaken, the two papers together will constitute an authoritative and final settlement of the question. I presented a condensed statement of my conclusions, covering the whole ground, at the final meeting of the German Archaeological Institute,—the “Adunanza Solenne” of the year, held upon the traditional birthday of the City.

In addition to this work for the proposed paper, I was engaged, during the students' absence in Greece, in an examination of the work which they had done upon manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Since this was their first attempt, it was necessary that the results should be minutely scrutinized. I further desired to study the Vatican manuscripts of Catullus myself, in order to ascertain which were best worth collating. Of the modern editors of Catullus,—Ellis, Baehrens, Schulze, Schwabe, Haupt, Schmidt, Riese, Rostand and Benoist, Nigra, Giri, Postgate, Palmer, Owen, Merrill, and others,—none mentions the existence of any Vatican manuscript except the one known as V, which was collated by Umpfenbach, before 1867, for Professor Ellis's monumental

edition. In answer to a letter of inquiry, I was informed that Theodor Heyse, in the first edition (1855) of his *Catull's Buch der Lieder in deutscher Nachbildung*, — an edition now little known, and at the moment inaccessible to me, — enumerates six more manuscripts of Catullus as existing in the Vatican.

Not understanding in advance the system of catalogues of the Vatican Library, which is in effect an accumulation of catalogues as they have been made from time to time during a long period, I began at one end of the catalogue shelf and went through to the other. In this way I found that there were in the Library, not seven, but twelve manuscripts of Catullus; although a mistake in the catalogue number for a time baffled my attempts to get hold of the twelfth. Of the eleven on which I could lay my hands I made a long and careful comparative test.

Before going farther in my account, it will be helpful if I make a brief statement of the present condition of the general problems of the text of Catullus.

There are some seventy-five manuscripts of Catullus in existence. Of these, two have been universally recognized as of the first importance, — the Paris manuscript known as G, and the Bodleian manuscript at Oxford known as O. In addition to these, a single poem is found in a ninth century collection, known as T, in the National Library in Paris. All these manuscripts go back to the same ultimate source, and accordingly form but a single family. The Paris manuscript (G), according to a statement at the close, is generally believed to have been copied in the year 1375 in Verona; and certain verses, likewise found at the close, show that the manuscript from which it was copied had been discovered in Verona, or discovered elsewhere and brought to Verona, somewhere in the first quarter of the century. That manuscript, which seems to have disappeared early, and which probably will never be seen again, is the source of all the manuscripts which have come down to us, with the exception of that of the ninth century mentioned above. The Oxford manuscript bears no

date, but is at least not much younger than the Paris manuscript. The Paris and Oxford manuscripts alone are supposed to be direct copies from the lost Verona manuscript, or but slightly removed from it. All the other manuscripts are copies of copies, and the great question with regard to them has been whether they were all derivable from one of the two principal manuscripts, or whether some of them were derived from still another copy or copies, since lost, of the lost Verona manuscript. In the latter case their evidence, after careful cross-examination and sifting, should be taken into account in reconstructing the text of this lost Verona manuscript, from which obviously all attempts to restore the extremely corrupt text of Catullus must proceed. Especial interest attaches to a manuscript in the Library of St. Mark in Venice, and to a manuscript in Berlin known as D. The general opinion is that D, and a few manuscripts of less importance closely related to it, represent an independent tradition of the lost Verona manuscript; as regards the St. Mark manuscript, opinions differ, some scholars holding that it is an excellent manuscript and represents a genuine independent tradition, others believing that it is simply a derivative of the Paris manuscript, into which a number of wild guesses of the scribe have been inserted. My hope, in setting our students to work upon the manuscripts in the Vatican, was that some further light might be shed on these problems. Even if the manuscripts proved to be in themselves distinctly inferior, they might possibly be put to service as connecting links.

Making my tests, I found that six of them were late and poor. These six I afterwards put into the hands of Mr. Dixon, who obtained their readings in a number of critical passages, and will publish a brief paper upon them in the *Journal*, to the end that the whole subject of the Vatican manuscripts of Catullus may be left in a finished state by the conclusion of the year's work. The results, however, are not wholly negative, for in a general way the relations of these manuscripts can be made out. Moreover, — as I suspected at the time, and as I afterwards determined by a personal examination of the six British Museum

manuscripts from which Professor Ellis gives occasional citations, — the six less important manuscripts in the Vatican are of equal value with these.

The four remaining manuscripts out of the eleven proved to be of such a character that, upon the return of the students from Greece, I had all four collated, — one by Dr. Burton (the manuscript, as it chanced, upon which he had been previously engaged), and the other three by Mr. William K. Denison, Mr. Tambllyn, and Mr. Holmes. These manuscripts seem to me to belong probably not below the second rank, and to promise to prove worthy of a place in any complete critical apparatus. Some of them present individual wildnesses, but this is also true of the Berlin manuscript D, and of the manuscript H in Hamburg, which are both cited in any considerable apparatus. Moreover, a good deal of interesting light is thrown by these new manuscripts upon the relationships of already known manuscripts to one another.

The twelfth manuscript, as implied above, did not appear when sent for, but in its stead, and under the number attached to it, came a manuscript of another author. Here, then, I was at the point at which undoubtedly Heyse had been before me; for his book, of which I afterward obtained a copy, enumerates, I found, not seven Vatican manuscripts, but eleven, — two of them from the same collection — the Ottoboni, — to which the missing one belonged, so that he could not have seen their titles in the catalogue without seeing the title of the twelfth manuscript as well. It is pathetic to read his appendix, dated from Rome itself, and to know that, as he wrote it, there slumbered, on a shelf of a Library in which he had examined eleven manuscripts of his favorite author, a twelfth which was greater than any and all of them. Heyse does not, however, even mention the existence of a twelfth title; and it is possibly owing to this apparent completeness and actual incompleteness of his list that the twelfth manuscript has remained unknown until the present time. In my own case, the knowledge of the probable existence of an unknown docu-

ment, even among so many, roused the deepest interest. The chances were of course that it was of no value; but there was also the possibility of the opposite. In addition, I had desired to be able to give a complete account of the Vatican manuscripts of Catullus when the results of our first year's work should be published. I therefore, after wasting some time in experimenting with variations upon the catalogue number, asked to see the Ottoboni Inventorio, or catalogue by numbers, such as exists for each of the title-catalogues of the Library. Through the courtesy of the Prefect, these Inventori are now more easily accessible to scholars than formerly, but there never has been a time when a proper person could not obtain the privilege of consulting them. It required but a few minutes of running to and fro in the Ottoboni Inventorio in the neighborhood of the hundred to which the number in the title catalogue belonged to find the true number. The manuscript was brought me, and from the first glance I thought it probably was — as it afterward proved to be — a hitherto unknown manuscript of the same general class and of like value with the great manuscripts of Oxford and Paris. It would be premature to state the conclusions to which I find myself tending. It must suffice here merely to call attention to the obvious importance of this new light upon the problems of the criticism of Catullus. Moreover, we have in the Codex Romanus (R), as I have named the manuscript, not simply a third witness of credibility,—we have a third witness which is in some respects of greater competency than either of the others. The new manuscript is not only the most beautifully executed of the three, but it is actually the richest. Of the so-called double or triple readings (which have arisen in good part from the doubts of a scribe or scribes with regard to the actual reading of the text from which the copy was made), but few are found in the Oxford manuscript, ninety-three in the Paris manuscript, and a hundred and thirty-three in the new Roman manuscript.

As to the date of the Roman manuscript, the "71 Carte 39,"

or "No. 71, 39 Sheets," at the top of the first page (see the accompanying facsimile, PLATE I), makes it morally certain that it once belonged to Coluccio Salutati, the noted humanist, a younger contemporary and friend of Petrarch, a great collector of manuscripts in the midst of his busy work as a Florentine magistrate, and the writer of three extant letters of the year 1374, asking for a copy of the Verona manuscript, or for the loan of the manuscript itself that he might have a copy made.

In a forthcoming number of the *Journal*, each of the six students of the School engaged in the study of the Vatican manuscripts of Catullus will have a short paper upon the particular manuscript, or set of manuscripts, upon which he worked, and these will be followed by a combined collation of the five more important manuscripts, made up of the separate collations of Messrs. Burton, Denison, Holmes, Tamblin, and myself.

I am glad to be able to announce also that, at my request and upon my representation of its importance, the authorities of the Vatican have consented to publish a facsimile of the newly found manuscript. This will appear at the same time with our collation of the Vatican manuscripts, and will contain a statement that the manuscript was discovered by the Director of the School, and that it is published at his request. The details of photographing, printing, binding, cost, etc., have been left in my hands. Although the work will be thoroughly well done, I have been able to arrange for a lower price than has yet been made for any such publication. It is proper for me to state that, in order to make the venture feasible from the publisher's point of view, I have personally engaged myself to take a certain number of copies for America. The School incurs no risk in the matter.

I desire to record my indebtedness also to the Council of the Vatican for permission to work ten additional days after the library was closed for the summer. The late discovery of the manuscript, and the need of devoting more or less attention, while collating it, to the work of the six students who

were occupied with other manuscripts, kept me from finishing my collation before the first of July, and I should have been obliged to remain until the reopening of the library in October, if this special privilege, now rarely given, had not been granted.

In the *Classical Review* for July, 1896, I made a brief statement of my discovery ; and the kindness of Professor Lanciani brought me an invitation, which I gladly accepted, to present a paper on the subject before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei in Rome.

I may in this connection anticipate a part of my narrative by saying that the promise which I thought I divined in the new manuscript for the settlement of the question of the origin of the secondary manuscripts led me to desire a further knowledge of the more important of the latter than even Professor Ellis's apparatus gives ; and that I accordingly arranged to have complete collations made, during the summer vacation, of the two which are reported to be the oldest, A in Milan and B in Bologna, the one by Mr. Shipley and the other by Mr. Dixon. I myself spent four weeks of the vacation in Paris and Oxford, principally in the study of manuscripts and early editions of Catullus. The results of this work will be published later.

The number of meetings of the School held during the year for the presentation of papers was not large. The time at which individual work, in this mass of new subjects, begins to ripen, is the time at which it is plainly best for the students to go to Greece. Moreover, there is in Rome no such abundance of fresh archaeological material for study as exists in Greece ; and really independent work in Epigraphy, Palaeography, and the like, no matter how modest, can hardly be taken up at all near the beginning of the year. In the future, as we receive students who have already pursued introductory studies at home, this condition will of course be improved ; but in the five months that preceded the visit to Greece in the present year, only four papers were far enough advanced for presentation at public meetings, one by Professor Frothingham on

Norba and the system of ancient roads in the neighborhood ; one by myself on syllabification in ancient Roman speech, especially as judged in the light of Epigraphy and Palaeography ; one by Mr. Walter Dennison on syllabification in the division of words at the end of lines in inscriptions, and the conclusions to be drawn from it ; and one by Mr. Shipley on the relations of the Vatican manuscript Reginensis 762 of Livy to the Paris manuscript P, as represented in Luchs's recent collation. After the return of the students, other papers were presented : one by myself on the newly found Codex Romanus of Catullus, another by Mr. Shipley describing the continuation of his studies on the manuscripts of Livy, and brief papers by Mr. Denison, Dr. Burton, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Tamblyn upon the manuscripts of Catullus which they were collating and the probable respective affinities of these manuscripts. The number of papers thus presented at meetings is respectable. But the year's work is not to be judged upon this basis, but upon the basis of the number and character of the published papers which result from it. Each regular student of the School will, I trust, present for publication in the *Journal* some contribution of real value, — a result for which I had not ventured in advance to hope, in our opening year, and from men who were all, with one exception, new to the work to be done.

The number of students who, as candidates for a certificate, completed the required ten months of study was ten. Of these, one, the Rev. Mr. Lowrie, was engaged with Christian Archaeology solely. The rest were students on the Pagan side, though a number of them took Professor Frothingham's lectures on Christian Archaeology, without doing outside work in the subject.

The number of special students, — students in attendance for a period between three months and ten, — was two. Of these Mr. D. F. Platt devoted himself to Classical Archaeology, and Mr. D. C. Branson to the History of Art, and especially to Italian Painting of the twelfth century.

The Regulations of the School prescribe a year of ten months

of work. One of our students remained in Rome to the end of this period. Another was called home somewhat early by serious illness in his family, but carried with him material for the continuation of his special work. The rest, leaving Rome about July 1, spent the last six weeks of the school year in work in libraries or museums in Italy, France, England, or Germany.

Such is the record of the year. A dozen picked men, — a large number for a foreign school in Rome ; courses in Topography, Classical Archaeology, — both Pagan and Christian, — Epigraphy, Numismatics, and Palaeography ; actual work at manuscripts in the Library of the Vatican ; two months in Greece, with excursions with Dörpfeld for seven out of the ten fully enrolled students ; and ten days in Pompeii and the Museum at Naples under Mau. What would not many men of the older generation have given in their day of unguided sight-seeing for such opportunities as these twelve young men have had !

We were able to extend a welcome, at various times during the year, to American scholars who were visiting Rome for purposes of serious work, and to put our Library at their disposal. Among these I may mention in particular Professor Fowler, of Western Reserve University, Professor Elmer, of Cornell University, Professor Mary E. Case, of Wells College, Professor Adeline B. Hawes, of Wellesley College, together with Professor G. D. Lord, of Dartmouth College, Mr. Heermance, Dr. Hoppin, Dr. Alice Walton, and Miss Reed, all of the School at Athens, who spent some time in Rome on their way to America. To these students of the sister School, as to the students of the School in Rome, the Government granted free admission to the national museums, excavations, and galleries in all parts of Italy.

Professor Ashmore, of Union University, availed himself of the privileges of the School for several months in the winter, and Mr. William Rankin, Fellow of Princeton University, and student of Italian Painting, especially of the fourteenth century, did the same in the two autumn months.

Our library was put at the service of President Taylor of Vassar College, who visited Rome twice in the year; and we had the pleasure of his company, as well as that of Professor Case, on the trip to Ostia conducted by Professor Lanciani.

Professor Seligman, of Columbia University, a member of our Managing Committee, who spent several months of the winter in Rome, showed his interest in the School in many ways, — among others, by taking part in some of its excursions, and by contributing to the fund for the work at Beneventum. To his mediation is due the presentation to the School of a funerary *cippus*, by Mr. James Loeb of New York City. Miss Emma Brace of New York also left a token of her good will in the form of a second copy of Middleton's *Ancient Rome*.

A good beginning of a Library has been made. In addition to Mr. Morgan's gift of three thousand dollars, nearly seven hundred dollars were spent for books. I have also the pleasure of recording that, in answer to letters stating the founding of the School and its aims, contributions of publications were received from the following firms: — in America: Messrs. Ginn & Company, Messrs. Harper Brothers, Messrs. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn, the G. & C. Merriam Company, and the University Publishing Company; in England: the Cambridge University Press, the Clarendon Press of Oxford, and Messrs. Macmillan & Company of London. The Committee feel special satisfaction in recording these latter gifts, which testify to the cosmopolitanism of scholarship. In addition, we have to thank the Johns Hopkins University for the gift of a complete file of the *American Journal of Philology*, the American Philological Association for a complete set of its *Transactions*, and Mr. D. Nutt, of London, for a complete file of the *Classical Review*. For a subject-catalogue of this Library, as likewise for an author-catalogue not quite completed at the end of the year, the Committee is under obligation to Mr. Shipley. Its thanks are also due to Mr. Swearingen for a duplicate of the subject-catalogue, made and sent home for the use of the Director-

elect. It is intended, I may add, that the duplicate catalogue shall always be kept complete.

This closes the report of the work of the year. It remains only to speak of the former and the new home of the School.

By the invitation of the School of Architecture, we shared during this first year in the use of the Villa dell' Aurora, the beauty and cheer and comfort of which were a constant factor in our life. Our Executive Committee had expected that not only the School but also the Director would be housed in the villa. At its first meeting a sum of money had been appropriated for furnishing the building. Later, Mr. McKim and Professor Ware concluded that the villa did not have room for a second family in addition to that of the Director of the School of Architecture, and I had given up all expectation of living there. On arriving in Rome, however, I not only experienced great difficulty in finding suitable quarters, but I also found that, without any sacrifice on the part of the School, the spare space in the villa, though not adapted for housekeeping, could be made to serve. Further, I felt strongly that it would be for the best interests of our School if its Director should be so housed. In this way, whatever hospitality was exercised by the family of the Director would indirectly be exercised for the School, and the Director would himself be always at hand. I found Mr. Lord, the Director of the School of Architecture, to be most obliging in the matter. With his good will, I sent a telegram to the Acting Chairman of the School, asking him for his approval, and that of Mr. McKim, to the carrying out of the original plan, with the exception that I should myself meet the expense of furnishing. This approval was given. The arrangement proved advantageous. Indeed, I do not see how, if I had lived elsewhere, I could have managed the practical business, especially in the early months, of receiving and caring for books and school furniture, of directing workmen, and of contending, in company with Mr. Lord, against certain difficulties under which we labored.

As has been told in the reports of Professor Warren and Professor Smith above, the two fundamental ideas of integral connection with the proposed Academy, on the part of each School, and of a common fund for all the Schools, had been abandoned, before the May meeting of our Committee, by the leading promoters of the Academy. Immediately upon the receipt of the news, a telegram, signed by the Director and the Associate Director, was despatched to the Chairman, asking that authority be given them to secure a new home for the School, and mentioning that a charming villa, which had already been inspected, was at our service. The authority was granted, and the matter was put in charge of the Director and the Associate Director of the year, together with the Director for the next year, Professor Warren, who was to spend a short time in Rome in June. This committee, after inspecting several houses, chose the villa named in the telegram,—the Villa Cheremeteff,—a house at the corner of the Via Gaeta and the Via Palestro (Via Gaeta, No. 2),¹ which had been leased by Mr. Waldo Story and furnished by him for his own use, but was afterwards sub-leased by him upon his return to the Palazzo Barberini. The building is furnished in admirable taste, and is in every way a suitable home for the school. It has English plumbing, and a furnace,—two excellent things that are by no means common in Rome. There is, for the present, sufficient room on the ground floor for the Library and working rooms of the School; the Director's family has a dining-room on the same floor, removed from the rooms of the School by the hall, and, on the first floor, a drawing-room, a long gallery, and bed-rooms, beside bed-rooms and a large study on the second floor. If we should continue permanently to occupy the building, an additional large room could be thrown across the front of the little garden. The situation of the house, though not central, is more convenient than that of our former home, since from the

¹ The Committee is indebted to Hugh M. G. Garden, Esq., of Chicago, for the drawings for the accompanying cuts, made from the original Roman plans.

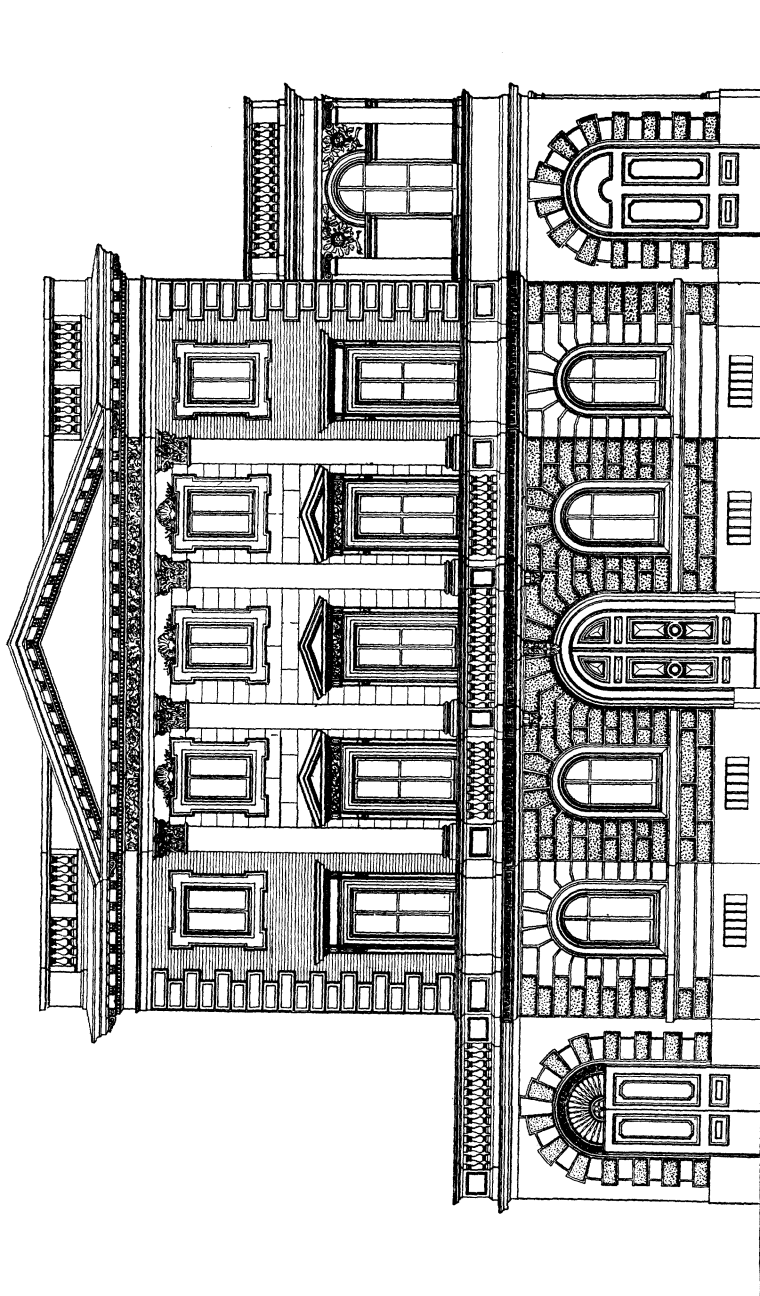


FIGURE 1.
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME. VILLA CHEREMETEFF.
(*Elevation on Via Palestro.*)

Piazza dei Termini, which is not far away, horse cars, soon to be converted into electric cars, radiate to all parts of the city. The ground is the highest in Rome, and excellently drained. The quarter is largely occupied by the houses of ambassadors and other people in public life.

My concluding work in Rome consisted in moving the books and other property of the School to its new home.

The furniture which we had had made at the beginning of the year was as simple as possible. It consisted of unstained pine shelves and tables, and would have been out of keeping with the new house. I had it remodelled, adding mouldings (for the designing of which we are under

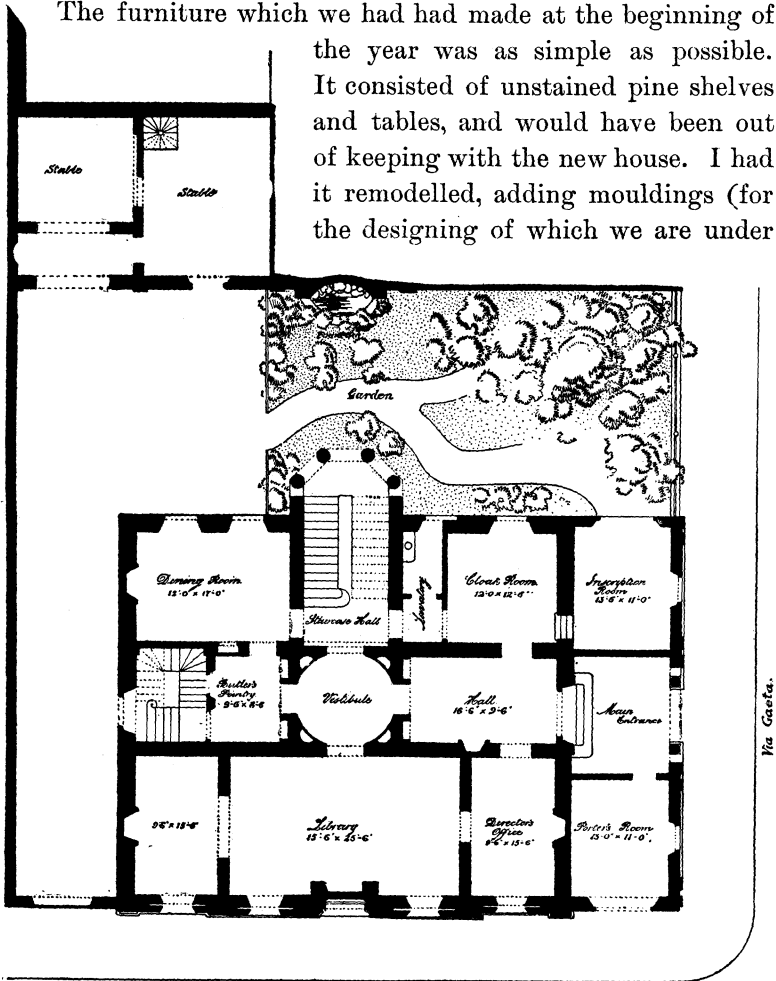


FIGURE 2.

VILLA CHEREMETEFF. PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR.

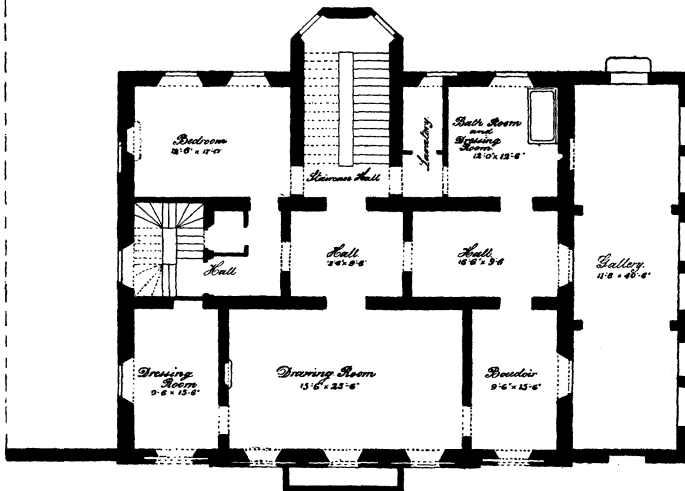


FIGURE 3.
VILLA CHEREMETEFF. PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR.

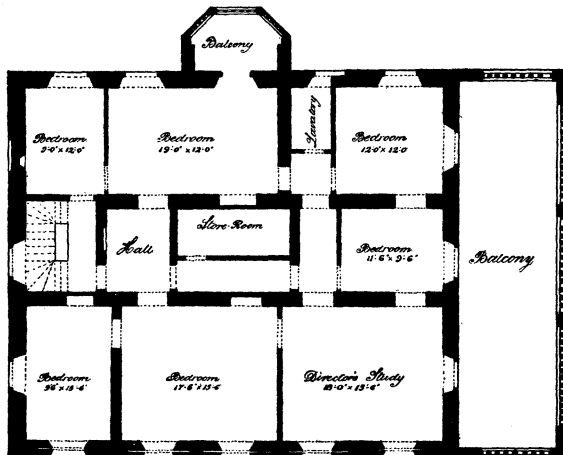


FIGURE 4.
VILLA CHEREMETEFF. PLAN OF THIRD FLOOR.

obligation to Mr. Story), and a coat of stain of the same shade as the ordinary dark Italian furniture. New bookcases of the same pattern were also constructed and set in place. The conversion of the furniture is complete, and it is for the present entirely satisfactory.

The making of this furniture occupied so much time that it was not possible to move it in season to allow of arranging the books in their new places. The task of doing this was lightened for the new Director, however, by the catalogue-system already mentioned, which assigned to each book a relative place through a subject number and an individual number written upon a label on its back.

Our relations with the outside world during the year which is now closed have been all that could have been asked, if allowance is made for the traditional policy of Italy with regard to affording opportunities to foreigners for original excavation. The attitude of the Government towards us has been completely friendly. The answer to the official notification of the establishment of the School, made by His Excellency the American Ambassador, immediately upon his return to Rome in October, was an offer of assistance in any way that might be possible. Our students were admitted without payment to the Government museums and excavations in Rome for the year, and later, when they came to travel, to all the Government museums and galleries in Italy. Similar kindness was shown us by Monsignor della Volpe, *Maggiordomo* of the Vatican, who admitted our students to the Papal museums and galleries for three months. I have already recorded, though I could not easily sufficiently express, our thanks for the kindness of Father Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, of Professor Melampo, Professor of Palaeography at the Vatican, of Professor Marucchi, Curator of Egyptian Antiquities, and of Professor Stevenson, Curator of Coins. To this list I should add the name of Comm. Galli, Curator of the Vatican galleries. The friendly spirit of the German Institute was shown in the admission of our students to Professor Hül-

sen's lectures on Topography, in the regular invitation of our officers and students to each open meeting of the Institute, and in the opening to us of the Institute's very valuable library. To the same desire to extend a welcome to the new School was doubtless due the election of the writer as Corresponding Member of the German Archaeological Institute of Berlin, Rome, and Athens, after the *Adunanza Solenne* referred to above. The Pontifical Academy of Archaeology likewise sent us frequent invitations to its sessions. The British and American Archaeological Society, of which I became a member, though unable, through lack of time, to avail myself largely of its privileges, opened its library to our officers, and sent our students tickets, through its Honorary Secretary, Mr. Lambe, to Professor Lanciani's lecture on the excavations at Nemi. The American Ambassador, the Honorable Wayne MacVeagh, and the American Consul-General, the Honorable Wallace S. Jones, deserve grateful mention. But any attempt to express our sense of our obligations in Rome would necessarily fail, since it could not take into account the constant kindness and uniformly cordial attitude shown us at every hand, in unofficial ways, by the heads of other Schools and their families and students, by Roman specialists, and by visiting scholars from England, France, and Germany, — among whom I cannot refrain from naming three, Professor Usener of Bonn, Professor Förster of Breslau, and Mr. W. M. Lindsay of Oxford.

In the midst of this general kindness and appreciation, however, the School has suffered, and for a while must continue to suffer, through a misjudgment in itself most natural. The public at large, not only in Rome but elsewhere, is unable to understand, just as it was at the time of the foundation of the School at Athens, why we appoint our officers of instruction annually. Professor Mommsen, for example, said to me last year in Rome that he could not think well of the system of constant change of Directors practised by the School at Athens in the past, and apparently to be practised by the School in

Rome. My answer was that I was glad to hear his condemnation, that I might assure him that we ourselves thought as badly of the system as he did, and resorted to it only as an inevitable beginning, until we had money. "But," he answered, "you have so much money in America, and give it so freely for education." The first is true, the second is true, and the unspoken inference ought surely to come true. The money which was raised for the three-year experiment will be exhausted at the end of the coming year; but it cannot be believed that the American public will suffer an institution to die that can so powerfully affect American education, and that has already earned its title to existence.

WM. GARDNER HALE, *Chairman*.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Affert relictæ meæ puellæ
 Qui cum luterè quem in sinu tenere
 Qui primum digittum dante appetenti
 Et æcis solet incutire morbus.
 Cum testatino meo nitenti
 Ratum nescio quid libet iocari
 Et solatiolum sui doloris
 Recto ut cum grauis acquiescet artor
 Recum luterè sic ipi possem.
 Et tristis animi leniare curas
 An gratum est michi quod feruit puellæ
 Quæ nec aureolum fuisse maluit
 Quod conum soluit cum ligatam

REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

1895-96

GENTLEMEN, — My work as Associate Director of the School was of two kinds, — instruction to the students and original investigation.

My weekly course of lectures on the archaeology of ancient Italy began with the study of the so-called “Pelasgic” cities, which are scattered through lower Etruria and Latium. In this connection I took the School on an excursion through some of the principal cities of the Volscian and Hernician leagues, such as Signia (Segni), Aletrium (Alatri), Ferentinum (Ferentino), and Verulae (Veroli). This trip was supplemented by visits to the Volscian cities on the western side of the hills overlooking the Pontine Plain, the centre of study being Norba, where I carried on a survey during the three winter months. The other cities of this group which were visited were Cora (Cori), Setia (Sezza), Privernum (Piperno), Anxur (Terracina), and Circeii (S. Felice Circeo). In the last excursion I was accompanied only by Mr. Lowrie, but in the previous ones by almost the entire membership of the School. Our guide in the study of these groups of ancient cities was Fonteanive’s *Avanzi detti ciclopici nella provincia di Roma*, a convenient if not an original book. In fact no book of any sort of a satisfactory nature has been written on these cities. The civilization represented by them is contemporary with, if not earlier than, that of the Etruscans, and appears to be of a totally different origin. Its character is similar to that of the Homeric age in Greek lands. A large number of archaeologists is awaiting with great interest any discoveries which may be made on these sites,

thinking that they may possibly solve the most important problems in the origin of Italian civilization. Thus far no excavations have revealed the position of a single necropolis, and we know only their works of colossal architecture and engineering, which surpass those of the Mycenaean age in Greece.

The other great section of pre-Roman civilization, the Etruscan, was then taken up with Martha's *L'Art Étrusque*, and *L'Archéologie Étrusque et Romaine* as text-books. Especial attention was paid to the Etruscan museum outside of the Porta del Popolo — Museum of the Agro Romano — at the villa of Pope Julius. This museum, the arrangement of which is due to Comm. Barnabei and Count Cozza, is illustrated in the most systematic way in a series of articles published by its directors in the *Monumenti Antichi*. The museum itself furnishes the best instance of an Etruscan collection arranged on perfectly scientific principles, the contents of each tomb being kept separate and the tombs themselves being arranged in chronological order, thus making it easy to follow the historic succession of types and the transformation of culture. In order to supplement the study of the contents of the tombs, as represented in this museum, by a study of the monuments themselves, a visit was made with nearly all the students of the School to some of the principal sites of lower Etruria — Caere (Cervetri), Tarquinii (Corneto), Tuscania (Toscanella), and the rock-cut necropoleis near Viterbo. Many of the students also went to Veii. These sites were selected as complementary to one another. At Caere we were able to study the best examples of large and architectural interiors of tombs; at Tarquinii, the finest painted interiors; at Castel d' Asso and Norchia near Viterbo, the external form and decoration of the tombs, which often reproduced types of the temple and of the Greek and Etruscan house with such an accuracy of detail, that these tombs form some of the best material for a future reconstruction in ground-plan and elevation of the Homeric and post-Homeric house.

In connection with their study of Faliscan antiquities, and

in order to give them some practical experience of the manner in which excavations are carried on in Etruscan necropoleis, I took some of the students to Narce, not far south of Falerii, where some excavations were being carried on which were of unusual importance for the early civilization of Etruria, between the tenth and the seventh centuries B.C. Here we were present at the opening of a number of primitive well-tombs and trench-tombs, of the archaic period, the contents of which had never been disturbed.

When the students joined Dr. Hülsen's course in Roman topography, they were obliged to give their entire time to this work, and my classes were discontinued. When I resumed my lectures at the beginning of January, I thought it best to have a course of weekly meetings on Greek sculpture and architecture, in view of their trip to Greece and Sicily in the spring. Greek Archaic Sculpture was principally studied, with the first volume of Collignon's *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* as the text-book. I laid emphasis on the early period of sculpture, since this is the one which can be best studied in the Greek museums and in the recent excavations at Delphi. At a number of the meetings papers were read by the students on the various schools of sculpture. At the beginning of this course, and as a part of it, it was arranged to have Dr. Waldstein give a lecture on archaic and archaistic sculpture at the Museum of the *Conservatori* at the Capitol, illustrating it with the monuments of the museum itself.

A weekly course of lectures on Early Christian and Mediaeval Art was given by me during part of the session, illustrated largely, of course, by the monuments of Rome, which were supplemented by those of the rest of Italy. In connection with the lectures on the primitive period of Christian Art I arranged for three visits to the catacombs of St. Callixtus, St. Priscilla, and St. Praetextatus, under the direction of Professor Marucchi. The lectures given by him in these catacombs were extremely thorough and interesting and were attended by the entire School. I took the School also to a number of the principal

basilicas of Rome, illustrating the development of architecture and church decoration from the time of Constantine to the thirteenth century. The history of fresco painting, of mosaic painting, of illumination, and of the different branches of sculpture, large and small, during the same period were also briefly sketched and illustrated, principally with the aid of Garrucci's *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*. During our various Pelasgic and Etruscan excursions we were also able to study a number of important mediaeval monuments, especially at Corneto, Toscanella, Viterbo, Casamari, Ferentino, and Alatri.

The most difficult question which we were obliged to solve during this first season on behalf of the School was the possibility of carrying on excavations. Without being positive in the matter, I had hoped that we should not find an invincible opposition on the part of the Italian Ministry toward our accomplishing something in this important department of work. I found, however, that Professor Barnabei, who is at the head of the department of excavations at the Ministry of Public Instruction, was at this time opposed in principle to allowing the School, as a foreign institution, to undertake any work of original and independent excavation. This attitude prevented me, as will be seen, from making at Norba anything more than a complete survey of the remains above ground.

In addition I thought it best, with the consent of Professor Hale, to select for the School's study a second monument of a character differing widely from that of Norba: the triumphal Arch of Trajan at Beneventum,—the one representing the Roman and the other the pre-Roman period, and both being regarded as the best-known examples of their class.

The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (PLATE II) was erected at the beginning of the Via Traiana, which leads from Beneventum to Brundisium, and was built by Trajan at his own expense. In the year 115 A.D., while the Emperor was still in the East, and after the completion of the road, the arch was dedicated to him by the Senate, perhaps in anticipation of his

return to Rome through Beneventum. This arch is important for various reasons. Historically it is the second of the great sculptured arches still in existence in Italy, that of Titus in Rome, which it resembles in its proportions, alone being earlier. But the Arch of Titus is of great simplicity,—its only sculptures in relief being part of a frieze, some Victories, an Apotheosis of the Emperor, and the two famous reliefs under the arch, which correspond exactly in size to the two similar reliefs in the Arch of Trajan. In the wealth of its sculptures, the arch at Beneventum is approached only by the Arch of Constantine in Rome, where, however, we have no homogeneous work as at Beneventum, but a combination of fine, low reliefs from a destroyed arch of Trajan with degraded sculptures of Constantine's own time. In its long, triumphal frieze, encircling the entire monument, in the high relief and complicated composition of its sculptures, the Beneventum arch is unique. Add to this the idealism of many of the types, the wonderful portraiture in others, and the artistic perfection of the composition, and we cannot help regarding the reliefs of the Beneventum arch as the foremost works of Roman sculpture. The reign of Trajan, in which Greek idealism and Roman power of portraying character harmoniously met, seems to be, in fact, the high-water mark of Roman sculpture. Until a few years ago the arch of Beneventum was almost unknown; lately it had been examined by the local inspector of monuments, Meomartini, and by the Secretary of the German Institute in Rome, Professor Petersen. It had not, however, been adequately photographed, nor had moulds been taken of any of its sculptures.

With the approval of the Neapolitan section of the Office for the Preservation of Monuments, the Ministry of Public Instruction granted to our School the privilege of taking moulds of any part of the arch, with certain guarantees for the safety of the monument. On the advice of Dr. Petersen, the person selected to make the moulds and casts was Sig. Annibale Piernovelli, who was also highly recommended by a number of the best sculptors in Italy, and had lately executed to

the satisfaction of the German Institute the moulds and casts of the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome.

I took Sig. Piernovelli with me to Beneventum to ascertain the amount of relief in the sculptures, so as to decide on the best method of moulding, and also on the amount of sculpture to be moulded in order to make the work complete, leaving out only duplicated, unessential, and badly injured parts. Notwithstanding the far higher relief of the arch and the increased expense of working at a distance from Rome, Sig. Piernovelli made exactly the same terms as for the Column of Marcus Aurelius. These terms were sixty-five lire per square metre for the first cast, including the cost of the temporary moulds, and twenty-five lire per square metre for all subsequent casts. To this should be added five hundred and eleven lire for the scaffolding, and further sums for transportation to Rome, and for the making of negatives and photographs on a large scale of all the details of the arch while the scaffolding was still in place. As the Ministry would not allow us to make permanent plaster moulds, for fear of damaging the monument, we made clay moulds from which two perfect copies alone could be taken,—one for ourselves, and one for the Italian Government, to which according to law we were obliged to give it. From our own copy we take the moulds for all other reproductions.

During the course of the work I visited Beneventum a number of times in order to take advantage of the unique opportunity to make a careful study of the arch from the levels of the scaffolding and to prepare the material for a publication of the sculptures. When the work was finished, it was found that the casts measured considerably more than had been anticipated. This was due to several causes. In the first place, Sig. Piernovelli had not taken account in his preliminary measurements, on which our first estimate was based, of two conditions: first, that, each relief being taken in a number of pieces, and each piece being cast so as to overlap the next for the sake of safety, the measurement of the bas-

relief on the original was increased considerably in the cast; second, that in most of the bas-reliefs there was a great deal of work in the round or in extremely high relief, which had to be reckoned not by straightaway measurement, but by following the curved lines of the projecting parts, in order not to be unjust to the moulder. In the second place, after the scaffolding was erected, and I was able to make a more detailed examination, I found it necessary to add to the list of reliefs to be moulded several which I had originally omitted and which on close examination I found to be among the finest sculptures of the arch. This was especially the case with the reclining figure of the river goddess, the bas-relief with the three divinities in the background, and the beautiful keystone of the arch.

When completed, our mouldings of the arch were the most extensive work of the sort ever made in Italy, with the possible exception of the casts of the Arch of Constantine and the Column of Trajan undertaken by Napoleon III. It was no easy matter to meet the heavy expense involved. Professor Warren had raised about six hundred and seventy-five dollars during the autumn and winter for the work of the School at Norba or on the arch. It seemed as if the expenses of the work at Norba and throughout the Volscian hills could be brought within the limit of the eight hundred dollars already available for that purpose, so that Professor Hale and I agreed that it would be advisable to devote to the arch the whole of the amount raised by Professor Warren. Mrs. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago and her son Mr. Stanley McCormick contributed two hundred and fifty dollars, Professor Willard Fiske of Florence, Mr. E. E. Ayer of Chicago, and Professor Seligman of Columbia University contributed one hundred dollars, fifty dollars, and twenty-five dollars respectively. These various amounts were to be used exclusively for the cost of the moulds. I also succeeded in interesting persons connected with several institutions. Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson and Mr. Martin A. Ryerson

of Chicago, during their stay in Rome, promised to contribute, if necessary, seven hundred dollars, this sum to be divided between the cost of the moulds and casts of the sculptures for the Art Institute of Chicago. Dr. Pepper and Mrs. Stevenson, of Philadelphia, promised, for the Cast Committee of the University of Pennsylvania, to purchase casts to the amount of about four hundred dollars for its new museum. The graduating class of the University of Michigan, through the influence of Professor Kelsey, offered four hundred and fifty dollars for a series of casts of the arch, as their gift to their Alma Mater. In this way large series of the casts will be on exhibition in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Ann Arbor. The original set is the property of the School. I have prepared an illustrated catalogue of all the casts, giving the price for the entire set and for single casts. As soon as this catalogue is put into circulation, the School will be able to furnish the casts to any institution or museum, either singly or in sets, and thus gradually to obtain a steady income from this source. It may be a good investment for the School, for, owing to the lack of a similar series of casts of Roman monumental sculpture in the market, it is probable that there will be considerable demand for ours. No large collection of casts can afford to be without some specimens from the arch. However, it will soon become a question whether some arrangement should not be made to bring the original set of casts to this country.

The one hundred dollars voted by the Committee for the purpose almost sufficed to cover the cost of the series of large-sized photographs, which were made from the scaffolding by Sig. Lucchetti, the photographer of the German Institute. Each bas-relief was taken separately on a large plate.

At the close of the season it was found, that, on account of the additional expenses described above, the amount promised for the arch fell short by nearly one thousand dollars of meeting the cost. I remained in Rome until late in August, largely for the purpose of seeing the various sets of casts made and of providing for their packing. During this time, it was not

possible to take any steps toward making good the deficit. At the last moment, at the time of my return in the early autumn, it was cancelled by the generosity of Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett, who contributed one thousand dollars to the arch.

The subjects of the bas-reliefs on the arch are so selected, apparently, as to give a few of the characteristic events, exploits, and benefactions of the reign of Trajan up to the time of its erection. There are records of his victories over the Germans and Dacians, the erection of Dacia into a Roman province, and the triumphal entry into Rome after the second Dacian war. Other compositions are connected with his pacific triumphs; for example, the representation of Trajan as *Restitutor Italiae*, as encouraging the arts of peace, as instituting the *Alimentarii Pueri* and *Puellae*, as opening a port, as presiding over the generous distribution of provisions called *Congiarium*. Groups of gods occur more than once, and those in the upper reliefs are the finest of all the figures (PLATE III). They are represented as approving of the pacification of Dacia and presiding over it from afar; as welcoming Trajan to the Capitol, themselves invisible; as being present at the making of treaties and the inauguration of public works. In them especially do we see Greek ideal types employed and we recognize the hand of the Greek artist.

It is to be hoped that the arch will form the subject of a publication by the School which shall reproduce all its details in a series of large photographic plates from our own negatives. Similar publications have already been begun in Germany for the Column of Trajan and for that of Marcus Aurelius, which have given occasion to a careful study of the campaigns of these emperors.

The work at Norba was rendered possible by the appropriation of three hundred dollars made for archaeological purposes by the Institute in 1895, by the use of the yearly subscription of two hundred and fifty dollars for archaeological purposes made, on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania, by Dr. William Pepper and Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, and by a

special appropriation of two hundred and fifty dollars to cover the estimated remainder of the cost.

The history of this work is not so simple as of that at Beneventum. I was led to select the site of Norba for two reasons. In the first place, Latium, although of great importance in the history of ancient Italy, has never been carefully explored, nor have systematic excavations been carried on at any of its sites, so that it seemed as if the School might find in this province a field both fertile and uncultivated. In the second place, Norba would naturally be the starting-point for any such investigation. It is the only pre-Roman site with an uninterrupted circuit of walls and containing within these walls important public and private monuments built in the so-called "Pelasgic," Cyclopean, or polygonal style, with large irregular blocks of stone put together without mortar. I had wished for several years to study this city. It so happened that especial attention had been directed to Norba by Professor Lanciani, a few months before my arrival, and that a strong plea for the excavation of this and other cities of Latium had recently been made by the well-known archaeologists Gamurrini and Pigorini, who were of the opinion that here was the key to the origin and development of pre-Roman culture before the rise of Etruria. No practical steps had yet been taken, but the government archaeologists were ready to direct more attention to this region instead of confining themselves, as they had hitherto done, to the study of Etruria, although at the same time this group of official archaeologists was opposed to granting that culture began its forward march in Latium earlier than in Etruria. It was therefore almost inevitable that the move made on the part of our School to occupy Norba would be watched with interest. It seemed to me that the best plan would be to begin by taking moral possession of the site by thorough studies of everything above ground, which could be done without special permission. When these were completed, including a survey-plan of all the monuments of the city and its neighborhood, as well as the ancient roads leading to it, I ex-

pected to present a report to the Ministry of Public Instruction detailing the work done and asking, in view of what was already accomplished, that I should be allowed to complete the plan of study of the city by an excavation. It seemed as if our position would be so strong that this request could hardly be refused.

In pursuance of the plan detailed above, I engaged in December the services of a young architect and engineer, Sig. Guido Cirilli, who had already shown ability in the study of historic monuments. He began at once under my guidance to make a plan of all the constructions at Norba. This, of course, could not but be imperfect without the help of excavations, because a large part of many of the structures, and all the streets, were still covered with an accumulation of earth, and the form and relation of the various buildings thus remained imperfectly disclosed. Still, by sinking surveying poles, and by using other means within the law, many interesting discoveries were made, hidden walls and lines of streets were brought to light, and wells, cisterns, and underground passages were explored. At present we know exactly where excavations can best be made and how far it is necessary to go in order to reach the ancient level. Excavations would be extremely easy, because the accumulation of earth is very light, varying apparently from less than a foot to a maximum of about three feet.

The city walls enclose two hills,—the high one being the acropolis, the smaller one the sacred hill with two temples. Encircling the base of the two hills is a broad, flat space, largely artificial, and sustained on the slope toward the Pontine plain by a series of immense inner bastions. This terraced part is the principal quarter,—the upper city which contained the most important structures. Between the bastions and the outer city walls, toward the plain, is the lower city.

I was able to distinguish three manners in the internal structures, which appear to correspond to successive periods. Difficult though it may be to base any chronological conclusion on constructive methods, I believe that it can be proved from

this source alone that Norba cannot have been built later than the ninth century B.C. ; that the city was largely rebuilt in the first half of the sixth century, if not earlier, and that, after a decline, it had a temporary revival in the third or fourth century. Finally comes the tragic story of its destruction by the troops of Sulla in the year 82 B.C., when the inhabitants, who found themselves betrayed, set fire to the city, and the men died fighting and the women and children were burned : since this downfall it has never been inhabited, except that, like so many other abandoned sites, it was partly occupied by a Roman villa. In Pliny's time it was already famous as a ruin frequented by visitors of an antiquarian turn of mind. Since then the ruins have never been completely covered, but they were not studied, apparently, until 1829, when Gerhard, the learned Secretary of the German Institute, published, in the first volume of the *Annali* of the Institute, an article on Norba, illustrated with drawings by a German architect named Knapp. However interesting this article was, as calling attention to Norba, it was of no use in my study, because it did not recognize any differences in style or period in any of the constructions, but described the city as if it had been built all in one period. The plan also, although fairly full, was most inaccurate in all its details and measurements, so that no account could be taken of it. The only other description of the ruins that has come to my knowledge is that in Fonteanive's *Guide to the Polygonal Ruins of the Province of Rome* ; but in the case of Norba the author does nothing but repeat Gerhard's article.

The study of the plan of Norba confirmed me in my opinion that the cities of Latium represented an entirely distinct civilization from the Etruscan. The arrangement of the Etruscan city, as is well known, is more or less rectangular, the religious consecration of the city involving its division into four quarters by two streets running at right angles, the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*, at the intersection of which the priest stood at the time of the consecration. There is no trace of this fundamental characteristic at Norba : the streets do not run at

right angles, the ground-plan, instead of being rectangular, approaching as closely to the circle as the conformation of the ground will allow. This curvilinear ground-plan and the irregular lines of streets are equally characteristic of the other cities of the Volscian League, and are also to be found in certain cities of Etruria whose foundation is attributed by tradition, not to the Etruscans, but to colonists of Greek descent. To those who object to giving so high an antiquity to Norba and the other cities of this region, one can urge not only the architectural evidence, but the fact that, among the few objects thus far found in tombs at Norba and Cora, nothing has come to light that can be attributed with certainty to a period later than 750 B.C.

Even if we are not permitted to carry on excavations, the results of our topographical study of Norba will be extremely interesting, because we have ascertained the general plan of the city, the lines of the paved streets with their raised sidewalks, the system of furnishing each house with a well, constructed like the Mycenaean *tholoi* and connected with an immense general cistern on the slope of the acropolis, the ground-plan of the various classes of public and private structures, and the form and material of the roadways leading to the city. The illustrative material which we have prepared is very complete. The plan of Norba has been made so large as to give accurate measurements of every structure. A general cross-section gives the relation of the different parts of the city in elevation. There is a perspective view of one end of the city toward the plain, with the approaches, the road-bed, gate, walls, and temple hill; many excellent water-color and pen-and-ink sketches of the walls, and separate sections and ground-plans of several of the structures, have also been prepared. More than fifty photographic negatives were made by Lucchetti and other photographers. All this material will be ample to illustrate whatever publication the School may wish to issue.

During the course of the preliminary work Comm. Barnabei

came up to Norba to see what was being done, bringing with him the entire government Archaeological Commission, including Cozza, Pasqui, Borsari, and others. They all expressed themselves as wonderfully impressed by the city and as very much pleased with the quality of the survey. This favorable impression was, I may say, confirmed after my presentation of the completed results at a meeting of the German Institute, when my report was said to be the most fully illustrated communication ever made to the Institute. At the time of their visit I entertained the Commission at dinner in the great cistern. At its close, Comm. Barnabei informed me that while there was no desire to seem obstructive, the Ministry wished to have complete monopoly of excavating the necropolis of Norba, to which he looked for the solution of many questions. He added, however, that if I should desire to make topographical excavations within the city, he should be pleased to see that permission was granted; also, in case the Government should excavate the necropolis, I should be given free access to the excavations at all times, and should be allowed to make scientific use of the material discovered.

After this visit it seemed needless to adhere to my original plan of making a preliminary report to the Ministry before asking for permission to excavate, and relying on Comm. Barnabei's favorable attitude, Professor Hale and I made a joint request to be allowed to make topographical *tasti* ('probings') in Norba. Before this request was presented Comm. Barnabei informed me, as a modification of his former offer, that I should be allowed to do this work only at the expense of the Ministry and under the supervision of one of its inspectors. The answer to our formal request, however, was a refusal; the reason given being that no foreign school could be allowed to undertake such work, which came within the duties of the Government itself.

In order to find some compensation for this partial and perhaps only temporary check at Norba, I decided to extend operations to the other cities of the Volscian League. I thus

studied the sites of Cora, Setia, Privernum, Anxur-Terracina, and Circeii. I made, with the assistance of Sig. Cirilli, the plans of the first two of these cities, and hope that the Committee of the School will be in favor of completing the plans of the other cities, the comparative study of which is extremely interesting.

The most important result of the explorations outside of Norba was the discovery of a network of ancient pre-Roman military roads, which join together all these cities of the Volscian league. Starting at Norba, where their lines are the clearest, I followed a series of roads leading from each of its gates and sometimes dividing into two or more branches at a certain distance from the city. We first surveyed all the roads in the immediate vicinity of Norba and made a careful study of their construction. The many lines of walls that had been noticed outside of the city along the side of the mountain had never been identified as sustaining walls of roads. They rise at certain points to a height of eight to twelve feet, and are in a rougher form of the same polygonal construction used in the city walls. Starting at the gate which led toward Cora, we were able to follow the road almost without interruption as far as ancient Cora itself. Its line of ramps winds down the Norba hillside in such a way as to give quite easy grades. The structure of the road-bed is of great solidity. It is always more than four metres in width and formed of superposed layers of stone, the larger unbroken stone being at the bottom and covered by layers continually decreasing in size until a sort of macadam roadway is reached at the surface. The structure is clearly visible at a point just outside the gate, where a section of it is broken away. The road-bed has become almost as hard as concrete, and can be removed in sections without crumbling. As a general rule these roads are flanked by a double wall on each side, — a lower, retaining wall of considerable height (sometimes twelve feet high), and an upper wall of no considerable height, which is sometimes omitted, as it serves mainly to mark the limit of the road. As these roads are built usually on rocky ground

along the side of the steep mountain slope, it was necessary to provide against washouts. For this purpose protecting walls were built in lines parallel to the road, both above and below it, to prevent the carrying down of loose material and the undermining of the foundations of the road. There are sometimes as many as four such parallel lines of wall.

The roads which I discovered do not all belong to the same period. The earliest seem to date from the first great agricultural development of the Volscian cities during the eighth century B.C., at about the time of the foundation of Rome. This is probably the date of the earliest of the roads leading from Norba and especially of that communicating with Cora. These earliest roads never descend to the plain below, except when it is necessary to place the mountain-city in communication with the cities of the plain, as is the case with the road leading from Norba across the upper corner of the Pontine plain in the direction of Satricum. The later among these groups of roads, those connecting Setia with Privernum and Privernum with Anxur-Terracina, more readily abandon the hillsides for the plain and approximate more closely to the plan of Roman roads of the period of the Claudian Via Appia.

In the immediate neighborhood of the cities, the roads are more carefully constructed and are bounded by walls approaching, in the carefulness of their construction, the quality of the city walls themselves. Their carefully constructed ascending ramps are sometimes broken up, at a short distance below the city, by small terraces with projecting bastions.

Along the line of the ancient roads we find series of interesting constructions of various kinds. About midway between each of two neighboring cities is in each case an esplanade of considerable size, fortified by a bastion and jutting out from the mountain road over the plain. Possibly these bastions were for the defence of the road and to protect the inhabitants of the neighboring *pagi* in case of sudden predatory incursions.

Other constructions, of a somewhat later date and belonging to the third, fourth, and even the fifth manner of polygonal

masonry, are found in the neighborhood of the later roads along the plain. One of these groups discovered by Sig. Cirilli in the vicinity of Cora, near the road leading to Norba, has the appearance of a small settlement (*pagus*). And this was undoubtedly the case with other groups of structures further south. These roads seem to be earlier than the fifth century B.C. or in a few cases belong at the latest to this century, and they differ from the earliest of the known Roman roads of the following century.

In carrying on this investigation, I made a preliminary survey, or rather a voyage of discovery, with Sig. Cirilli. After we had made out in detail the line from Cora to Norba we undertook the discovery of the roads leading from Norba to Setia, Privernum, and Anxur. This excursion took six days of tramping over the mountain sides, in which we did not even follow the goat-paths. It was necessary to find and examine every stone which did not appear to be in its natural position, for the roads were so exposed that after more than two thousand years of disuse they were almost entirely washed away and we were continually losing track of their direction.

After the preliminary survey, I set two engineers, Sig. Cirilli and Sig. Corseri, at work with their surveying apparatus; they used as a basis for their work the largest topographical maps of the Italian military staff, which I caused to be enlarged by draughtsmen. This was a long and tedious piece of work, requiring the greatest care. It was completed for the sections Norba-Cora and Norba-Setia. It remains for the Managing Committee to decide whether it shall be continued as far as Terracina.

During the course of this study I investigated the ancient sites. The most important results were the discovery of a large settlement or *pagus* at the foot of the mountain in the plain of Privernum, connected with a mountain road leading to Setia. I also became persuaded that the supposed site of the ancient Privernum in the plain below the present Piperno was occupied only after the Roman conquest, when the site was changed, and that the earlier pre-Roman city must be sought elsewhere.

Of far more importance was the study of the site of the

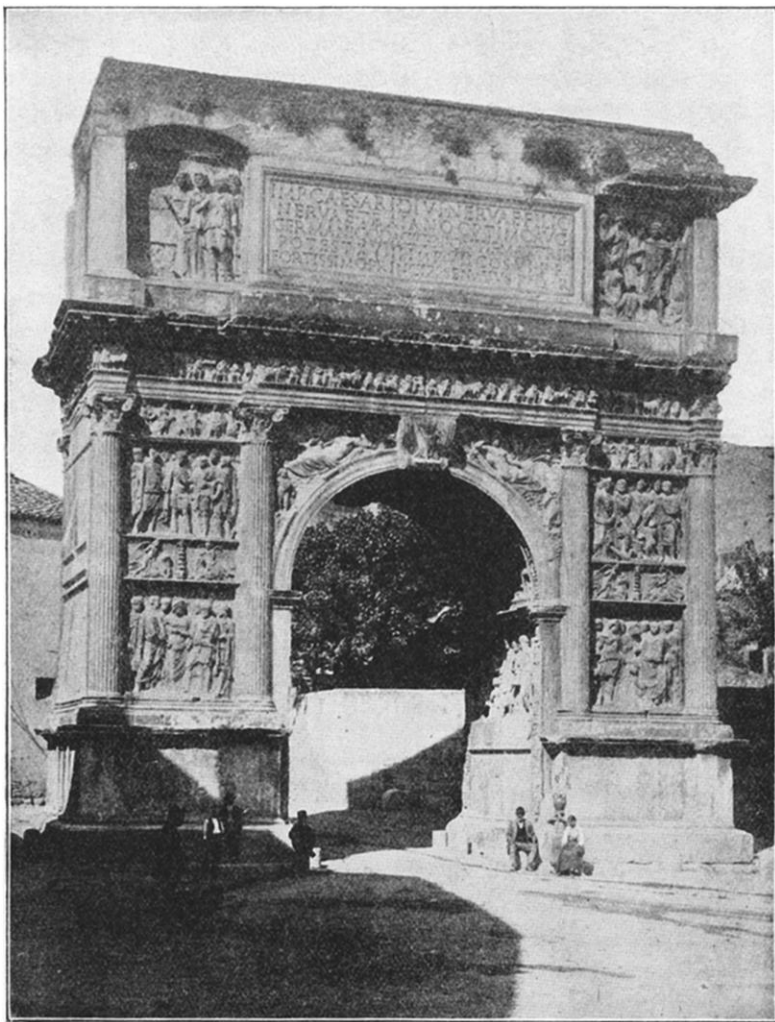
ancient Circeii on the promontory which was formerly the island of Circe. The extensive ruins which still remain there are very unusual in their grouping and arrangement; and their character and relationship have been a matter of much dispute. I believe that the ancient city was built near the water's edge as a seaport—I traced part of its circuit—and that it was connected by an immense broad raised causeway, unique in character, fortified by high walls, and leading up to a citadel or acropolis which rose high above the city and outside of its limits upon the rocky hill at the southern extremity of the island. This acropolis, of rectangular form, has been usually supposed to be the city itself. The third element, in this group of three, is the primitive sanctuary of Circe, the famous temple rebuilt at various times, which crowns the summit of the highest peak on the promontory, toward the centre of the mountain. These ruins at Circeii were the first to attract, early in the century, the attention of the archaeologist Dodwell, who then started an investigation of this entire class of monuments that resulted in the craze for "Pelasgic" monuments which marked the first thirty years of this century. They are unique in character, and it is desirable that the School should have a survey made of them.

It seems to me that it is chiefly by such original work, undertaken each year, that our School can attain to a high position among similar institutions, and justify the money and energy employed in establishing it.

My work in the Volscian hills was continued well into the month of July. Sig. Piernovelli was then completing the copies of the casts of the Beneventum arch for American museums, after the original set from which they were to be taken had been brought from Beneventum to Rome. Supervision of this final part of the work and arrangements for the packing and shipping of the casts to America kept me in Rome until August 22, through nearly all the hot season.

ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., *Associate Director.*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.



ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM



FOUR DIVINITIES FROM ARCH OF TRAJAN
AT BENEVENTUM.